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THE

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AND
THE SITUATION IN

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THE UNITED NATIONS AND THE SITUATION IN LIBERIA

BACKGROUND

Civil war in Liberia claimed the lives of between 100,000 and 150,000 civilians and led to a complete breakdown of law and order. It displaced scores of people, both internally and beyond the borders, resulting in some 700,000 refugees in the neighbouring countries. Fighting began in late 1989, and by early 1990, several hundred deaths had already occurred in confrontations between government forces and fighters who claimed membership in an opposition group, the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), led by a former government official, Mr. Charles Taylor.

From the outset of the conflict, a subregional organization, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), undertook various initiatives aimed at a peaceful settlement. ECOWAS membership comprises Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Côte d'Ivoire, Gambia, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Togo. ECOWAS initiatives included creating a Military Observer Group (ECOMOG) in August 1990. The Group initially comprised about 4,000 troops from Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Nigeria and Sierra Leone. Although the President of Liberia, Mr. Samuel Doe, had agreed to accept ECOMOG, as did Mr. Prince Johnson, leader of an NPFL faction challenging the leadership of Charles Taylor, Mr. Taylor opposed the ECOMOG intervention. On 10 September 1990, President Doe was killed after having been taken prisoner by Johnson forces. The following year, in June 1991, former supporters of the late President were to create another group, the United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO).

Other ECOWAS efforts to achieve a peaceful settlement in Liberia included the mediation of a series of agreements which became the basis for the peace plan of November 1990, including the establishment of an Interim Government of National Unity (IGNU). Dr. Amos Sawyer was inducted into office as the President of the interim government. On 30 October 1991, ECOWAS brokered the Yamoussoukro IV Accord which outlined steps to implement the peace plan, including the encampment and disarmament of warring factions under the supervision of an expanded ECOMOG, as well as the establishment of transitional institutions to carry out free and fair elections.

The United Nations supported the efforts of the ECOWAS member States. In addition, it provided humanitarian assistance to the affected areas in Liberia through coordinated activities of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), the United Nations Population Fund, the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the World Food Programme (WFP) and the World Health Organization (WHO). The United Nations Special Coordinator's Office (UNSCOL) opened in December 1990; its operation, initially focusing on the desperate situation in the Monrovia area, was expanded in 1991 to respond to the needs of Liberians throughout the country. Regional arrangements were also made to assist those who fled to the neighbouring countries, mainly Guinea, Côte d'Ivoire and Sierra Leone.

UNITED NATIONS ACTIONS ON LIBERIA

The Security Council first took up the question of Liberia on 22 January 1991. The Council commended the efforts of the ECOWAS heads of State and called upon the parties to the conflict to respect the ceasefire agreement. On 7 May 1992, the Council again commended ECOWAS and indicated that the Yamoussoukro IV Accord offered the best possible framework for a peaceful resolution of the conflict in Liberia.

On 19 November 1992, the Security Council, by adopting resolution 788 (1992), imposed a general and complete embargo on all deliveries of weapons

and military equipment to Liberia — except for those destined for the sole use of the peacekeeping forces of ECOWAS. The Council also called on the Member States of the United Nations to exert self-restraint in their relations with all parties to the conflict in Liberia, and to refrain from taking any action that would be inimical to the peace process. Further, it requested the Secretary-General to dispatch urgently a special representative to Liberia who would evaluate the situation and make recommendations as soon as possible.

On 20 November 1992, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali appointed Mr. Trevor Livingston Gordon-Somers (Jamaica) as his Special Representative for Liberia. Following his appointment, the Special Representative visited Liberia as well as Benin, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Gambia, Guinea, Nigeria, Senegal and Sierra Leone.

The Secretary-General reported to the Security Council on 12 March 1993 that the discussions his Special Representative had held with the parties concerned, including the Executive Secretary and member States of ECOWAS, indicated the existence of general consensus that the United Nations should assume a larger role in the search for peace in Liberia. Reaffirming his commitment to a "systematic cooperation between the United Nations and a regional organization, as envisaged in Chapter VIII of the Charter" and stating his intention to continue working with ECOWAS in the peace process, the Secretary-General outlined three areas in which the United Nations could play a role in Liberia: political reconciliation, humanitarian assistance and electoral assistance.

Further, the Secretary-General proposed that ECOWAS convene a meeting at the summit level where the President of the Interim Government and the warring factions in Liberia would conclude and sign an agreement, reaffirming their commitment to implementing promptly the peace process as envisaged in the Yamoussoukro IV Accord.

On 26 March, the Security Council, by resolution 813 (1993), requested the Secretary-General to consider the possibility of convening a meeting of the Liberian parties to reaffirm their commitment to the implementation of the Yamoussoukro IV Accord, and also to discuss with ECOWAS and the parties concerned the contribution which the United Nations could make in support of the Yamoussoukro IV Accord, including the deployment of United Nations observers.

MASSACRE OF CIVILIANS

On the morning of 6 June 1993, nearly 600 Liberians, mainly displaced people, including children and the elderly, were killed in an armed attack near Harbel, Liberia. The Security Council strongly condemned the killings and warned that those responsible would be held accountable for the serious violations of international humanitarian law. It requested the Secretary-General to commence immediately an investigation into the massacre.

After a preliminary investigation by his Special Representative, the Secretary-General, on 7 August, appointed a Panel of Inquiry composed of Mr. Amos Wako of Kenya as Chairman, and Mr. Robert Gersony of the United States and Mr. Mahmoud Kassem of Egypt as members, to undertake a more comprehensive investigation. In a report dated 10 September 1993, the Panel concluded that the killings were planned and executed by units of the military arm of IGNU — the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL) — and that NPFL, to which the act of violence had initially been attributed, had no role in it. The Panel named three AFL soldiers who had participated in the massacre and recommended that criminal investigations be undertaken with a view to prosecuting them. The Panel added, however, that this finding did not mitigate or diminish the responsibility of NPFL, ULIMO and others alleged to have engaged in similar atrocities against unarmed, innocent civilians throughout the conflict. It further recommended investigations into a number of major atrocities attributed to all parties to the Liberian conflict.

COTONOU PEACE AGREEMENT

In July 1993, a three-day meeting was held in Cotonou, Benin, under the co-chairmanship of the Secretary-General's Special Representative, President Canaan Banana of the Organization of African

Unity (OAU) and Mr. Abass Bundu, Executive Secretary of ECOWAS. At the conclusion of the meeting on 25 July, IGNU, NPFL and ULIMO signed the Cotonou Peace Agreement. The Agreement laid out a continuum of action, from the ceasefire through disarmament and demobilization to the holding of national elections.

On military aspects, the Agreement provided for a ceasefire to take effect on 1 August 1993 and outlined steps for the encampment, disarmament and demobilization of military units. To ensure against any violation of the ceasefire between 1 August and the arrival of some 4,000 additional ECOMOG troops, including from OAU countries outside the West African subregion, as well as the main body of a United Nations observer contingent, the parties agreed to establish a Joint Ceasefire Monitoring Committee, comprising representatives of the three Liberian sides, ECOMOG and the United Nations. For that period, the United Nations was asked to consider dispatching 30 advance military observers to participate in the work of the Committee.

On the political side, the parties reaffirmed the Yamoussoukro IV Accord. They agreed that there should be a single Liberian National Transitional Government which would have three branches: legislative, executive and judicial. The Agreement also provided for general and presidential elections to take place within seven months from the signing of the Agreement and set out the modalities for the elections to be supervised by a reconstituted Electoral Commission.

On humanitarian issues, the parties agreed that every effort should be made to deliver humanitarian assistance throughout Liberia using the most direct routes and under inspection to ensure compliance with the embargo provisions of the Agreement. The United Nations, in particular the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), was requested to facilitate the speedy return of refugees and their reintegration into their communities.

On 4 August 1993, the Secretary-General told the Security Council that, while he recognized the difficulties ahead, he welcomed the Agreement as offering the "hope that the violent and destructive civil war which has afflicted Liberia may at long last be brought to an end." On 10 August, the Security Council, by resolution 856 (1993), authorized the Secretary-General to dispatch an advance team of 30 United Nations military observers to Liberia.

SEPTEMBER–DECEMBER 1993

UNOMIL IS ESTABLISHED

The Security Council established UNOMIL on 22 September 1993 by resolution 866 (1993), for an initial period of seven months, to work with ECOMOG in the implementation of the Cotonou Peace Agreement. UNOMIL was the first United Nations peacekeeping mission undertaken in cooperation with a peacekeeping operation already set up by another organization. The Mission was set up under the command of the United Nations, vested in the Secretary-General under the authority of the Security Council and led in the field by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General. It was to be composed of military and civilian components. Command of the military component was entrusted to the Chief Military Observer (CMO) reporting to the Secretary-General through the Special Representative. The civilian component would include humanitarian assistance and electoral assistance, as well as the necessary political and administrative staff. The deployment plan called for the Mission to operate out of its headquarters in Monrovia, as well as four regional headquarters, co-located with ECOMOG's four sector headquarters, in the eastern, northern and western regions and Greater Monrovia.

RELATIONSHIP WITH ECOMOG

It was envisaged that UNOMIL and ECOMOG would work closely together in facilitating the implementation of the military aspects of the Cotonou Peace Agreement. In accordance with the Agreement, ECOMOG had primary responsibility for ensuring implementation. UNOMIL's role was to monitor the implementation procedures in order to verify their impartial application. UNOMIL's concept of operations and deployment would therefore be parallel to those of

ECOMOG. UNOMIL and ECOMOG were to have separate chains of command, but the missions were to consult formally, through established committees, as well as informally, on matters affecting them both. UNOMIL would also keep ECOMOG informed, as necessary, of its activities in pursuance of other aspects of its mandate.

On 9 September 1993, the Secretary-General had reported to the Security Council that the cooperation of ECOMOG would be critical to UNOMIL's success. He warned that failure by ECOMOG to deploy additional troops or their premature withdrawal would gravely jeopardize the peace process. "In such an event," he declared, "I shall immediately bring the situation to the attention of the Security Council; depending on the prevalent circumstances, I might be obliged to recommend the withdrawal of UNOMIL." He announced his intention to conclude with ECOWAS a formal agreement defining the relationship between UNOMIL and ECOMOG. The agreement, concluded in November 1993, set in place a formal consultative process and mechanisms for coordination.

Although financing ECOMOG troops was not the responsibility of the United Nations, it was proposed to establish a trust fund, under the auspices of the United Nations, to enable African countries to send reinforcements to ECOMOG, to provide necessary assistance to countries already participating in ECOMOG, and for humanitarian assistance, elections and demobilization. With the endorsement of the Security Council, the Secretary-General took steps to set up the fund.

UNOMIL COMPONENTS

The military component of UNOMIL was to monitor and verify compliance with the ceasefire, the embargo on delivery of arms and military equipment, as well as the cantonment, disarmament and demobilization of combatants. The Secretary-General estimated that 303 military observers would be required, including 41 teams composed of 6 observers per team for investigation, airports, seaports, border crossings and cantonment sites, 25 observers stationed at UNOMIL headquarters and 8 observers at each of four regional headquarters. In addition, a military medical unit of some 20 staff and a communications unit of about 25 civilian staff would be required.

The civilian component was to include political, humanitarian, and electoral personnel. The humanitarian assistance element would work closely with UNDP, the United Nations specialized agencies and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in assisting in the coordination of relief activities and facilitating the return of refugees, the resettlement of displaced persons and the reintegration of ex-combatants.

The electoral assistance element would observe and verify the entire election process, from the registration of voters until the voting itself. The work would be carried out by 13 international staff, 40 United Nations Volunteers and necessary support staff. Organizing and holding elections would be the responsibility of the transitional government, through the Liberian Elections Commission consisting of representatives of the three Liberian parties. The elections were originally scheduled for February/March 1994. Several potential bottlenecks to the holding of elections on that date were foreseen, including operationalizing the Electoral Commission, repatriating refugees, settling internally displaced population, and completing demobilization.

DEVELOPMENTS DURING FIRST MONTHS

Following the adoption of Security Council resolution 856 (1993) on 10 August 1993, the advance party of military observers began arriving in Liberia. The Chief Military Observer arrived in the country on 10 October 1993 and by mid-December there were 166 UNOMIL military observers.

The first meeting of the Joint Ceasefire Monitoring Committee was chaired by the United Nations on 13 August. The Committee was to monitor, investigate and report all ceasefire violations between the period when the ceasefire came into force on 1 August 1993 and the arrival of the additional ECOMOG troops and the full contingent of UNOMIL. In addition to regular patrolling and ceasefire monitoring through the Joint

Committee, UNOMIL military observers conducted reconnaissance missions in cooperation with ECOMOG in many areas of the country in preparation for their deployment to these areas and in preparation for disarmament and demobilization.

The five members of the Council of State were selected on 17 August 1993, following consultations among the Liberian parties. The swearing in of the Council, however, did not take place as it was awaiting the beginning of disarmament, the start of which, in accordance with the Cotonou Agreement, was dependent on the expansion of ECOMOG and the provision by the parties of necessary information on the number and location of their combatants, weapons and mines.

Throughout the negotiations leading to the Cotonou Agreement in July 1993, the expansion of ECOMOG had been viewed as a crucial prerequisite for progress towards a lasting peace in Liberia. On 30 September 1993, the United States pledged $19.83 million to the Trust Fund, exclusively to meet the cost of deployment, equipment and maintenance needs of the expanded ECOMOG troops. On the basis of consultations with potential troop contributing countries and discussions with ECOMOG, and in accordance with the terms of reference of the Trust Fund, a budget estimate covering the requirements of the expanded ECOMOG battalions was developed.

The International Foundation for Election Systems undertook a joint mission to Liberia in October 1993 to assess the requirements for holding elections and to evaluate the probability of maintaining the timetable set out in the Peace Agreement. The mission concluded that the timetable, which provided for holding elections in February/March 1994, was optimistic but that elections could possibly be held in May 1994, on the assumption that disarmament and demobilization, installation of the transitional government and unification of the country were achieved expeditiously.

The Chairman of ECOWAS, President Nicéphore Dieudonné Soglo of Benin, arranged for consultations among the parties at a meeting in Cotonou from 3 to 5 November 1993. At that meeting, the parties agreed on the distribution of 13 of a total of 17 cabinet posts. The distribution of the remaining 4 ministerial portfolios, as well as other issues related to the installation of the transitional government, would await further talks. The parties also reached agreement on the composition of the Elections Commission, on the Speaker of the Legislature and the members of the Supreme Court.

In establishing UNOMIL, the Security Council had stipulated that the Mission would continue beyond 16 December 1993 only upon a review by the Council based on a report from the Secretary-General on whether or not substantive progress had been made towards the implementation of the Peace Agreement and other measures aimed at establishing a lasting peace. The Secretary-General submitted the report on 13 December.

He informed the Council that planning and preparation for disarmament and demobilization, undertaken by UNOMIL in consultation with the Liberian parties, ECOMOG, United Nations specialized agencies and NGOs, were well under way. The commencement of actual disarmament, linked to the expansion of ECOMOG, was delayed. The Secretary-General hoped that the additional ECOMOG troops would soon be deployed to Liberia, thus enabling the disarmament and demobilization to start immediately.

The Secretary-General noted that the timetable called for disarmament to begin within 30 days of signature of the Agreement, concomitant with the establishment of the transitional government. From the beginning of the peace process, all parties had been aware that the timetable was "highly ambitious, especially given the complexities in establishing the joint UNOMIL/ECOMOG peacekeeping mission, including the deployment of additional ECOMOG troops". In spite of delays in the implementation of the Agreement, there were no major violations of the ceasefire, and the Liberian parties displayed a willingness to move the peace process forward. The Secretary-General recommended that UNOMIL continue to implement the mandate entrusted to it under resolution 866 (1993), although it was unlikely that the original timetable for elections would be met.

In a letter dated 16 December 1993 from the President of the Security Council, the members of the Council informed the Secretary-General that they

shared his expectation that, despite the unavoidable delays, disarmament would begin presently, the transitional government would soon be installed and the elections would be held in the first half of 1994.

INTER-AGENCY APPEAL

On 16 December 1993, the United Nations launched a Consolidated Inter-Agency Appeal for $284 million for emergency humanitarian assistance to Liberia covering a broad spectrum of activities to facilitate Liberia's transition from a war-torn nation to a peaceful and democratic State. United Nations agencies had identified priority needs, amounting to $96.41 million through the first quarter of 1994. The total appeal for $284 million was for 13 months, through December 1994. Later, following renewed hostilities, this figure was revised down to $168.4 million, to reflect limits on implementation of rehabilitation activities.

DECEMBER 1993–AUGUST 1994

DIFFICULTIES REMAIN

In December 1993, the Liberian parties resumed their talks on the composition of the transitional government. After two weeks of intense negotiations, however, they failed to reach agreement on the disposition of the four remaining ministerial portfolios of defence, foreign affairs, justice and finance. They were also unable to agree on the date for the seating of the transitional government and for the beginning of encampment, disarmament and demobilization of combatants.

UNOMIL attained its total authorized strength in early January 1994 and began deployment of its military observers throughout Liberia. As to the expansion of ECOMOG, battalions from the United Republic of Tanzania and Uganda arrived in Monrovia on 8 January and 28 January 1994 respectively and started preparations for deployment to the northern and eastern regions of the country.

On 18 January 1994, the Security Council expressed its concern over delays in the implementation of the Cotonou Agreement and over difficulties in delivering humanitarian assistance to all parts of the country. The continued support of the international community for the efforts of UNOMIL would depend on the full and prompt implementation of the Agreement. The Secretary-General's Special Representative subsequently held bilateral consultations with each of the three Liberian parties and relayed to them the Security Council's message, namely that the Council expected to see tangible progress in the peace process. The parties reiterated their willingness to cooperate in the effective implementation of the Peace Agreement.

Following arrival of the additional battalions, consultations with ECOMOG and the parties on the date for disarmament intensified. Ten encampment sites were identified, two for AFL, four for NPFL and four for ULIMO. The parties agreed that the disarmament of their forces would commence simultaneously and was likely to continue over a two–to–three–month period. At the same time, UNOMIL developed a plan for the demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants into civilian society, covering the continuum from military disarmament to reintegration into civilian society and involving the coordination of activities to be implemented by United Nations agencies and NGOs.

The Secretary-General urged the Liberian parties to make a renewed and determined effort to reach consensus and cooperate in good faith with UNOMIL and ECOMOG. The impasse in the implementation of the Cotonou Agreement resulted, in his view, from differences among the parties on the date for the installation of the transitional government and the commencement of disarmament. He believed that the remaining outstanding issues were not insurmountable. He also called upon the parties to create the necessary conditions to ensure the unimpeded delivery of humanitarian assistance to all parts of Liberia. He urged the international community to contribute the necessary logistical and financial resources to both the existing and expanded ECOMOG troops.

TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT INSTALLED

Meeting in Monrovia on 15 February 1994, the Liberian parties reached agreement on most of the outstanding issues impeding the commencement of disarmament and the installation of the transitional government. They then set 7 March 1994 as the date for commencement of disarmament and the installation of the transitional government. Free and fair elections would be held on 7 September 1994. The question of the disposition of the four remaining cabinet posts was not resolved. The Security Council welcomed the agreement but warned that the support of the international community would not continue in the absence of tangible progress towards full and prompt implementation of the Agreement, in particular, the revised timetable.

On 7 March 1994, the Council of State of the Transitional Government was installed in Monrovia. Three demobilization centres, one for each of the warring parties, were opened on the same day. On 11 March, the Transitional Legislative Assembly was inducted into office, with ULIMO being given the responsibility for naming the Speaker of the Assembly. The Supreme Court of Liberia opened for the 1994 term on 14 March.

In his 7 March acceptance speech, the Chairman of the Council of State confirmed that the holding of elections on 7 September 1994 was a foremost concern of the transitional government. The Elections Commission had intensified its organizational work in order to finalize a calendar of activities leading up to the elections and submitted a draft electoral budget to the Council of State for its consideration. It estimated that $13.7 million would be required for the electoral process, of which the transitional government would attempt to provide some $8.5 million and would seek international support for the remaining $5.2 million.

DEPLOYMENT CONTINUES

Meanwhile, UNOMIL proceeded with deployment throughout the country. By April 1994, the Mission had deployed its military observers in 27 team sites out of a total of 39 projected sites. Four regional headquarters were established at Monrovia (central region), Tubmanburg (western region), Gbarnga (northern region) and Tapeta (eastern region). The military observers were engaged in the patrolling of border crossings and other entry points, observation and verification of disarmament and demobilization and the investigation of ceasefire violations.

ECOMOG deployed into the western (Tubmanburg) and northern (Gbarnga) regions. Deployment of both UNOMIL and ECOMOG in Upper Lofa was impeded by insecurity in the area. Likewise, deployment in the south-east was curtailed by the activities of the Liberian Peace Council (LPC), which emerged in the south-eastern part of Liberia after the Cotonou Agreement was signed in July 1993. UNOMIL and ECOMOG were engaged in consultations with ULIMO and with NPFL and LPC in order to reach agreement on further deployment in the western and south-eastern regions. It was reported that the total number of combatants of all factions was approximately 60,000 soldiers. In the first month of disarmament, more than 2,000 combatants, from all parties, were disarmed and demobilized. Owing to political difficulties, however, disarmament was slower than anticipated. Assuming the full cooperation of the parties, it was estimated that disarmament could be completed in two months.

Following the deployment of UNOMIL and ECOMOG, the Joint Ceasefire Monitoring Committee was replaced by a Violations Committee, as foreseen in the Cotonou Agreement. The Violations Committee was chaired by the UNOMIL CMO.

SOME PROGRESS ACHIEVED

On 18 April 1994, the Secretary-General informed the Security Council that the Liberian parties had achieved progress in their search for peace, but a number of obstacles still existed, including the disposition of the four remaining cabinet posts, the question of allocation of posts to head the public corporations and autonomous agencies, continued military conflict involving various parties, and the slow pace of the disarmament and demobilization process. A number of issues in the electoral process were also left to be addressed, including voter education, the repatriation of refugees and displaced persons and the mobiliza-

tion of resources required for the elections. Taking into account progress achieved, he recommended that the Security Council extend the mandate of UNOMIL for a further period of six months, which would include the elections scheduled for September 1994. Provision would also be made for the liquidation phase of the Mission, which would end by 31 December 1994. The Secretary-General stated, however, that if the disposition of the four remaining ministries was not resolved within two weeks, and if there was no further progress in the peace process within this period, he would request the Council to review the mandate of UNOMIL.

Meeting on 21 April 1994, the Security Council was informed by the representative of Liberia that the Ministers of Defence, Finance and Justice had been designated on 19 April 1994 and that the appointment of the Minister for Foreign Affairs would follow. The Council extended the mandate of UNOMIL until 22 October 1994, on the understanding that it would review by 18 May 1994 the situation in Liberia and UNOMIL's role there. That review would be based on whether the transitional government had been fully installed, and whether there had been substantial progress in implementing the peace process. The Council decided to conduct by 30 June 1994 a further review focusing on the effective operation of the transitional government, progress in disarmament and demobilization, and preparations for the holding of elections.

The Security Council called on the Liberian parties to give urgent priority to the complete installation, by 18 May 1994, of the transitional government, especially the seating of the full Cabinet and the Transitional National Assembly, so that a unified civil administration of the country could be established and appropriate arrangements completed for national elections to be held on 7 September. It also urged the parties to cease hostilities immediately and cooperate with ECOMOG to complete the disarmament process. It encouraged Member States to contribute to the Trust Fund for the Implementation of the Cotonou Agreement or to provide other assistance to facilitate the work of ECOMOG, and to assist in humanitarian, development and electoral assistance.

CONTINUED FIGHTING

On 20 April 1994, the Council of State of the Liberian Transitional Government was fully installed, and the Ministers for Justice, Defence and Finance were confirmed by the Transitional Legislative Assembly, with the newly appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs scheduled to be formally inducted on 19 May.

At the same time, a dispute arose within the leadership of ULIMO, along ethnic lines, between Chairman Alhaji Kromah (Mandingo) and General Roosevelt Johnson (Krahn) over ULIMO nominees to the Council of State. The dispute resulted in an outbreak of fighting in the western region among the ULIMO forces. Fighting also erupted in the eastern part of Liberia between NPFL and LPC. The transitional government, UNOMIL and ECOMOG undertook efforts to bring about a ceasefire between the two groups and to bring LPC into the disarmament and demobilization process.

The continuing fighting within and between the parties constituted one of the most serious obstacles in the way of the peace process. Mediation efforts to resolve the dispute within ULIMO resulted on 6 May in a ceasefire and an agreement for further negotiations. However, the negotiations collapsed and serious fighting resumed on 26 May. In the eastern part of Liberia, attacks by LPC against NPFL also continued. All attempts to negotiate the end of hostilities were unsuccessful.

Moreover, the parties' mistrust for one another extended, in the case of some of them, to ECOMOG. Soldiers of the Nigerian and Ugandan contingents were abducted and held for varying lengths of time by elements of ULIMO and LPC, both of which claimed that ECOMOG had lost its impartiality and was involved in the conflict. NPFL also asserted complicity between some elements of ECOMOG and AFL in supplying material and logistical support to LPC. All these assertions added difficulties to ECOMOG's ability to carry out its peacekeeping responsibilities.

As a result of mistrust and hostilities between and within some factions, and despite the efforts of ECOMOG and UNOMIL, the parties refused to engage actively in the disarmament of their com-

batants or to give up control of territory. Three months after the start of demobilization, a total of only 3,192 combatants had been demobilized. Insecurity in some areas of the country also impeded full deployment of ECOMOG and UNOMIL.

The Secretary-General reiterated to the Security Council on 24 June his belief that UNOMIL's efforts were critical to the implementation of the Cotonou Agreement and to assisting the transitional government and the Liberian people to achieve national reconciliation. It was imperative that all the Liberian parties extend greater cooperation to ECOMOG and UNOMIL and that the transitional government bring all the parties together to agree on specific steps to ensure that the elections were held on schedule. Should the parties fail to maintain their commitment to the peace process, the Secretary-General warned, he would have no alternative but to recommend to the Security Council that the involvement of the United Nations in Liberia be reconsidered. On 13 July, the Council called on the transitional government, in cooperation with ECOWAS and OAU with the support of UNOMIL, to convene a meeting of the Liberian factions not later than 31 July in order to agree on a realistic plan for resumption of disarmament and to set a target date for its completion.

FACT-FINDING MISSION DISPATCHED

The transitional government did not meet the deadline. During July and August 1994, the situation in Liberia seriously deteriorated, and the Council of State remained ineffective. Fighting continued between the Krahn and Mandingo elements of ULIMO in the west of the country, and between LPC and NPFL in the south-east. There were also signs of a split within the NPFL hierarchy. All factions were experiencing command and control problems, resulting in an increase in banditry and harassment of civilians, including NGOs and unarmed United Nations military observers. Disarmament virtually ceased, and there was no clear prospect as to when elections would or could be held. Population displacement from the counties in the south-east and west continued to grow with every new wave of fighting and with each report of atrocities against civilians. ECOMOG was still not fully deployed and UNOMIL withdrew from the western region due to lack of security. On 26 August, the Secretary-General informed the Security Council that he had decided to dispatch to Liberia a fact-finding mission to review the situation in the country and advise him on the most appropriate course of action. On the basis of the mission's report, the Secretary-General would submit to the Council his recommendations with regard to the future United Nations role in Liberia. The mission was headed by the Secretary-General's Special Envoy, Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi, and visited the area from 16 to 26 August.

SEPTEMBER–DECEMBER 1994

AKOSOMBO AGREEMENT

On 7 September 1994, the Chairman of ECOWAS, President Jerry Rawlings of Ghana, convened a meeting of the leaders of the warring factions at Akosombo, Ghana. The meeting was attended by NPFL, both wings of ULIMO and AFL. LPC and the Lofa Defence Force (LDF) — the second faction which emerged in Liberia after the signing of the Cotonou Agreement — declined to attend the meeting. Representatives of the United Nations and OAU were present as facilitators. The meeting culminated in the signing, on 12 September, of a supplementary agreement to the Cotonou Agreement, which reaffirmed the Cotonou Agreement as the only framework for peace in Liberia. It also sought to give the transitional government a more central role in the supervision and monitoring of the implementation of that Agreement. The factions would be permitted to review the status of their appointees to the Council of State, and participation in the Transitional Legislative Assembly would be broadened by adding 13 representatives from the various counties.

The Akosombo Agreement called for an immediate ceasefire and provided more details concerning its implementation, the disengagement of forces and the responsibilities of the factions with regard to assembly and disarmament of combatants. It foresaw elections by October 1995 and specified that if any faction or group refused to desist from acts in violation of the Agreement, the transitional government, in collabora-

tion with ECOMOG, would have the power to use the necessary force to assure compliance. The transitional government would also conclude a status-of-forces agreement with ECOWAS. Soon after its signing, however, the Akosombo Agreement became engulfed in controversy, and there was no movement towards its implementation.

LIBERIAN NATIONAL CONFERENCE

At the initiative of private citizens, a Liberian National Conference convened on 24 August 1994 to deliberate on the many aspects of the peace process. After extended sessions, lasting until 3 October, the Conference adopted a set of resolutions concerning the peace process. It then suspended further consultations for a period of two months, after which it planned to reconvene to assess progress made in disarmament and demobilization. The Conference reaffirmed the Cotonou Agreement as the only framework for restoring peace in Liberia and sought to enable the transitional government to play a more central role in its implementation.

LIBERIA IN A "DESPERATE STATE"

Overall, the military situation during September and October remained confused, with alignment and realignment of groups depending on their short-term interests, and the breakdown of command and control within factions. Warlords, without any particular political agenda but with control of a certain number of soldiers, were seeking territory for the sake of adding to their own claim to power. The results were not large military victories, but deaths mostly of civilians, the decimation of entire villages and the breakdown of any semblance of law and order.

On 8 September, the Alhaji Kromah wing of ULIMO attacked Gbarnga and took control of NPFL headquarters. Forces of a coalition formed by AFL, LPC and ULIMO-Johnson then launched attacks against NPFL forces in northern and eastern regions. Troops of the coalition had already begun to gather in mid-August, reportedly to defeat NPFL and capture Gbarnga, an objective said to be supported by breakaway NPFL ministers in the transitional government. On 15 September, a dissident group within AFL attempted to stage a *coup* against the transitional government. The attempted *coup* was successfully foiled by ECOMOG's decisive action.

The factional fighting resulted in some 200,000 persons being uprooted from their places of temporary or permanent residence. Because of insecurity, international and local relief organizations located in Liberia were unable to deal with the growing tragedy inside the country. Movement of relief supplies became impossible, including across the border from Côte d'Ivoire, leaving thousands without access to assistance. As a result, almost all international humanitarian assistance operations ceased, except at Buchanan and Monrovia.

The continued fighting significantly limited the ability of UNOMIL to perform its functions. Moreover, on a number of occasions, unarmed United Nations military observers were themselves the target of harassment and violence. On 9 September, in what might have been a premeditated action to use the observers as a shield and to secure reliable communications and transportation facilities, NPFL elements detained 43 UNOMIL observers and 6 NGO personnel at nine sites in the northern and eastern regions and confiscated their transport, communications and most other equipment. UNOMIL immediately undertook round-the-clock contacts with faction representatives, NPFL interlocutors, neighbouring countries and ECOMOG in order to secure the release of those detained. On 14 September, 33 observers were released and found their way to relative safety. However, an attempted helicopter rescue of observers at Harper was aborted when the helicopter was shot at by NPFL elements. On the same day an ECOMOG contingent with six observers and six NGO personnel moving from Gbarnga to Monrovia was attacked by elements of ULIMO-Johnson, suffering casualties. The troops eventually reached Kakata, but were looted of their arms and equipment by NPFL. Although all military observers and NGO personnel had been released by 18 September, some of them had been mistreated and beaten.

Given the breakdown in the ceasefire and the inability of ECOMOG to provide security for UNOMIL observers, UNOMIL was unable to carry out many of its mandated activities. All UNOMIL team sites were evacuated except for those in the Monrovia area. As of 12 October, the strength of UNOMIL military personnel was reduced to approximately 90 observers from the authorized strength of 368. This temporary reduction was matched by a commensurate reduction in the civilian staff of UNOMIL. The lack of progress in the peace process, as well as the lack of financial resources, also led ECOWAS to consider withdrawing from Liberia. ECOWAS Chairman Jerry Rawlings, President of Ghana, said that he would consider withdrawing his Government's contingent of ECOMOG if there was no progress by the end of 1994. Nigeria had reportedly reduced its presence, and Uganda and the United Republic of Tanzania indicated they might withdraw their contingents.

The Secretary-General told the Security Council on 14 October 1994 that the political, military and humanitarian developments of the preceding month had left Liberia in a desperate state. The transitional government, the factions and the people of Liberia needed to focus on political accommodation to stop the country from sliding deeper into chaos. The Secretary-General decided to dispatch a high-level mission to consult the ECOWAS countries on how best the international community could continue to assist Liberia in bringing about a cessation of hostilities. In order to allow the high-level mission time to conduct its work and present its conclusions, he recommended that the Council extend the mandate of UNOMIL for a period of two months.

On 21 October, the Security Council, by its resolution 950 (1994), extended the mandate of UNOMIL until 13 January 1995. It recognized that circumstances in Liberia had warranted the Secretary-General's decision to reduce UNOMIL's strength, and stated that any decision to return it to the authorized level should depend on a real improvement in the situation on the ground, particularly the security situation. The Council condemned the widespread killings of civilians and other violations of international humanitarian law and demanded that the factions strictly respect the status of ECOMOG and UNOMIL.

HUMANITARIAN CRISIS

By June 1994, approximately 1.1 million people were receiving humanitarian assistance, of an estimated 1.5 million in need. Approximately 400,000 people were inaccessible because of factional fighting. Of the total number of beneficiaries, 800,000 were registered as displaced, of whom 150,000 had been displaced within the preceding six months. Since the beginning of 1994, 70 per cent of the estimated food needs had been mobilized by the international relief community. Organized voluntary repatriation of the 700,000 Liberian refugees had been adversely affected by the slow pace in the peace process. However, UNHCR continued to facilitate spontaneous repatriation, with an average of 1,000 persons returning every month from Guinea, Côte d'Ivoire and Sierra Leone.

The number of people in need of humanitarian assistance grew to an estimated 1.8 million by August, with assistance and rehabilitation activities limited to the areas immediately in and around Monrovia and Buchanan. By 12 November 1994, the United Nations Resident Coordinator in Liberia was reporting that the crisis had affected more than 700,000 innocent civilians in rural Liberia and 1.2 million residents and displaced persons in Monrovia, its environs and the rest of Montserrado country. He noted that continued fighting severely restricted most relief activities, and that the plight of those suffering in rural Liberia could not be significantly eased until minimum conditions of security existed that would permit an orderly resumption of emergency food deliveries.

At the end of November 1994, donors had provided approximately 49 per cent of the $168.4 million in prioritized needs requested in the Consolidated Inter-Agency Appeal, covering the period from November 1993 to December 1994.

MISSION TO ECOWAS MEMBER STATES

In its resolution 950 (1994), the Security Council welcomed the Secretary-General's proposal to send a

high-level mission to discuss the deteriorating situation in Liberia with ECOWAS member States. The mission was led by Mr. Lansana Kouyaté, Assistant Secretary-General for Political Affairs, and visited Ghana, Côte d'Ivoire, Nigeria, Liberia, Guinea and Sierra Leone. Consultations were held with the Chairman of ECOWAS, President Rawlings of Ghana, President Lansana Conté of Guinea, Chairman Valentine Strasser of Sierra Leone, President Konan Bédié of Côte d'Ivoire, and the ECOWAS Committee of Nine, which coordinates ECOWAS activities on Liberia and is composed of the foreign ministers of Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Nigeria, Senegal and Sierra Leone. Discussions were also held with Liberia's Council of State, including its Chairman, Mr. David Kpomakpor, diplomatic missions, United Nations organizations and NGOs, as well as with the Liberian faction leaders, who were meeting in Accra at the invitation of President Rawlings.

In all its consultations with ECOWAS member States, the mission emphasized that an enduring political accommodation among the factions in Liberia would be possible only if it was underpinned by a common policy on the part of the six ECOWAS countries most directly involved with Liberia, namely, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Guinea, Nigeria and Sierra Leone. The mission concluded that, notwithstanding the tireless efforts of the Chairman of ECOWAS, the Liberian political and factional leaders were not yet committed to a sustainable peace in their country. Accordingly, the mission submitted the following recommendations for ending the conflict in Liberia:

(a) the Liberian political and factions leaders must be brought to understand that, in the absence of political accommodation and reconciliation, continued support from the international community would not be forthcoming; (b) ECOWAS member States, particularly the six directly involved with Liberia, should urgently organize an extraordinary meeting of Heads of State to resolve their differences and harmonize their policies on Liberia; (c) if the above could be accomplished, ECOWAS should be encouraged to consider strengthening ECOMOG and restructuring it in order to achieve a better balance of troops, including contributions from other African countries; (d) international support, including financial support, logistics and equipment, should be sought to enable ECOMOG to carry out its mandate, particularly with respect to deployment, encampment and disarmament; (e) the future of UNOMIL should depend on the successful implementation of the above steps. Meanwhile, UNOMIL's mandate should be extended for a limited period of three months from 13 January 1995.

ACCRA AGREEMENT

The Akosombo Agreement continued to be a source of significant controversy among those Liberian parties and interest groups which had not taken part in the negotiations. Faced with opposition to the Agreement, the Chairman of ECOWAS dispatched delegations to Liberia and to several ECOWAS member States to seek a compromise. In November 1994, the Liberian parties carried out negotiations in Accra for about three weeks. These led to the presentation by Ghana of a compromise proposal, which sought to address the key issues of an agreement: representation and timing of the seating of a new Council of State; selection and status of its Chairman; decision-making by the Council; appointment of ministers; establishment of safe havens; ceasefire; and encampment and disarmament. Although agreement was reached in several areas, the parties failed to reconcile their differences over the composition of the Council of State and the process of selecting its members.

After further discussions, the parties returned to Accra on 18 December 1994. On 21 December, having resolved their key differences, they were able to sign two agreements, known collectively as the Accra Agreement. One clarified the Akosombo Agreement, which had been signed by NPFL, Alhaji Kromah's wing of ULIMO and AFL. The other enabled the non-signatories to the Akosombo Agreement — ULIMO-Johnson, LPC, LDF, the Central Revolutionary Council (CRC-NPFL) and the Liberian National Conference (LNC) — to accept that Agreement. CRC-NPFL was a breakaway faction of NPFL.

The Accra Agreement stipulated that a ceasefire would come into effect by midnight on 28 December

1994. A new, five-member Council of State would be installed within 14 days thereafter, composed of one member chosen by each of NPFL, ULIMO, AFL/Coalition and LNC and Mr. Tamba Taylor, a traditional chief chosen by NPFL and ULIMO. Elections would be held on 14 November 1995 and a new Government installed on 1 January 1996.

In the meantime, the Secretary-General informed the Security Council that Mr. Trevor Gordon-Somers would shortly be completing his assignment as Special Representative for Liberia. It was the Secretary-General's intention to appoint Mr. Anthony B. Nyakyi, former Permanent Representative of the United Republic of Tanzania to the United Nations, to succeed Mr. Gordon-Somers. Mr. Nyakyi took up his duties in Monrovia on 28 December 1994.

The ceasefire came into effect as stipulated in the Accra Agreement. However, the military situation remained highly charged and unstable. Hostilities had spread to over 80 per cent of the country and the fighting had caused massive population displacement. Because of insecurity and serious logistical difficulties, ECOMOG had been deployed in less than 15 per cent of the country. Its absence from major points along the borders was a factor in the continuous breach of the arms embargo.

JANUARY–JUNE 1995

POLITICAL STALEMATE CONTINUES

On 6 January 1995, the Secretary-General recommended that the Security Council extend UNOMIL's mandate for a further period of three months. During that period, the Liberian parties would be expected to respect the ceasefire and implement the other relevant aspects of the Accra Agreement, including the installation of the new Council of State. During that period also, his Special Representative would conduct an in-depth assessment of the role the United Nations could play in support of the peace process. Without the full commitment of the Liberian factions to the peace process, ECOWAS and the international community would not be in a position to continue to assist them in the search for peace in their country. The Security Council extended the mandate of UNOMIL until 13 April by its resolution 972 (1995) of 13 January.

In accordance with the timetable set out in the Accra agreement, the Liberian parties were to have nominated a new five-member Council of State by 11 January 1995. However, when they met in Accra under the auspices of ECOWAS on 9 January, they were unable to reach agreement on the composition and chairmanship of the Council. The main bottleneck was the inability of AFL and Coalition forces (ULIMO-J, LDF, LPC and CRC-NPFL) to reach agreement on their joint nominee. Nominees from the other parties included Mr. Charles Taylor, President of NPFL; Mr. Alhaji Kromah, Chairman of ULIMO-K; and Mr. Oscar Quiah, representative of LNC.

The Security Council expressed deep concern at the failure of the Liberian parties to reach agreement on the composition of the Council of State and called upon them to work together to implement the Accra Agreement by upholding the ceasefire, resuming disarmament and demobilization of combatants and implementing the other relevant aspects of the agreement in accordance with the timetable, including the prompt installation of the New Council of State. With regard to returning UNOMIL and its civilian staff to the level authorized under resolution 866 (1993), the Council requested that the Secretary-General base any decision to do so on the existence of an effective ceasefire and on UNOMIL's ability to carry out its mandate. The Council urged Member States to provide support for the peace process in Liberia by contributing to the United Nations Trust Fund for Liberia, and by providing financial, logistical and other assistance in support of the troops participating in ECOMOG.

During the following two weeks, the Chairman of ECOWAS, supported by the Secretary-General's Special Representative, continued discussions in Accra in an attempt to bring the parties to agreement. On 30 January, however, after almost one month of intensive but unsuccessful efforts, the Chairman of ECOWAS informed the parties that they should return to Liberia to continue their deliberations.

TECHNICAL TEAM

By resolution 972 (1995), the Security Council requested the Secretary-General to report on the role of UNOMIL and of ECOMOG in Liberia and the resource requirements of ECOWAS States to maintain their troops in ECOMOG. The Secretary-General dispatched a small technical team to Monrovia, which held detailed consultations from 6 to 10 February 1995.

ECOMOG informed the technical team that its strength was about 8,430 troops, organized in 10 self-contained infantry battalions. The Government of Nigeria contributed the bulk of the force (4,908), while troops were also provided by the Governments of Ghana (1,028), Guinea (609), the United Republic of Tanzania (747), Uganda (760) and Sierra Leone (359). Smaller contingents were also provided by Gambia (10) and Mali (10).

The main military functions of ECOMOG, in accordance with the Cotonou and Accra agreements, were the protection of civilians in safe havens; establishment and provision of security for assembly sites, where the combatants would initially congregate pending disarmament; establishment and provision of security for encampment sites where ECOMOG would disarm combatants and carry out other activities related to demobilization; assistance in the enforcement of the arms embargo through the establishment of border crossing points and patrols; and maintenance of general security throughout the country.

In order to carry out its responsibilities under the Accra agreement, ECOMOG indicated that it would require a force of some 12,000 all ranks. That would require seven additional self-contained battalions (about 4,250 troops), taking into account the proposed withdrawal of the Tanzanian contingent. The technical team found that the resources and logistical assets available to ECOMOG were clearly insufficient for it to carry out its tasks effectively. Accordingly, the team concluded that estimates of ECOMOG's logistical support requirements, provided by its Force Commander, were justified. The team was not convinced, however, that seven additional battalions would be required for the implementation of ECOMOG's concept of operations.

HUMANITARIAN SITUATION

In the absence of credible security guarantees, relief activities continued to be limited to greater Monrovia and Buchanan town, and to those areas of Grand Bassa, Margibi and Montserrado counties that were controlled by ECOMOG. The humanitarian crisis in Monrovia itself was of particular concern and continued to be aggravated by a steady flow of internally displaced persons seeking refuge, and a small number of combatants wishing to demobilize.

On 3 February, the Secretary-General launched an inter-agency consolidated appeal for Liberia, for the six-month period January to June 1995, seeking the $65 million in extrabudgetary resources required by United Nations agencies to continue to carry out life-saving interventions in a number of key emergency sectors. While the appeal sought funds for activities to be undertaken in those areas of Liberia secured by ECOMOG, it also made allowance for the possibility of expanding humanitarian assistance programmes to other areas, should security conditions allow. In accordance with this strategy, a number of United Nations agencies and NGOs undertook exploratory initiatives in January 1995 to expand the scope of their operations. Several international NGOs also made preliminary overtures to the factions concerning the possibility of commencing activities on a larger scale.

The February appeal covered a wide range of humanitarian programmes in the following sectors: food and nutrition, agriculture and food, health and medical relief, water and sanitation, emergency shelter, education and training. Special projects for children and women were also prepared. Agencies taking part in the appeal included FAO, the United Nations Centre for Human Settlement (HABITAT) in conjunction with UNDP, UNICEF, WFP, WHO and the United Nations Department of Humanitarian Affairs.

OPTIONS BEFORE SECURITY COUNCIL

On 24 February 1995, the Secretary-General advised the Security Council that, because of the security situation, the 78 military observers and seven paramedical staff serving with UNOMIL were deployed only in the greater Monrovia area, including

Buchanan and Kakata. Two months after the signing of the Accra Agreement, the Liberian factions and political leaders were still haggling over the composition and chairmanship of the Council of State and had yet to show that they were genuinely committed to the fulfilment of their obligations under the Agreement. Moreover, their inability to re-establish a ceasefire verification committee threatened the already fragile ceasefire. Under the circumstances, the Secretary-General felt that the time had come to consider carefully how the international community could continue to assist in the search for peace and stability in Liberia and what form this assistance should take. In this regard, the Secretary-General presented a number of options which the Council would have to consider when the mandate of UNOMIL expired on 13 April.

If the Liberian parties demonstrated a clear willingness to implement the Accra agreement, the Council's options would be: (a) to maintain UNOMIL as currently mandated under resolution 866 (1993). It was imperative that ECOMOG be provided with the resources required to carry out its responsibilities. The viability of this option would also depend on a restructuring of ECOMOG, effective enforcement of the arms embargo and more effective harmonization of the policies of the ECOWAS member States towards Liberia; or (b) to consider an enhanced role of the United Nations in Liberia through the establishment of a United Nations peacekeeping force to help the parties implement all aspects of the Accra Agreement.

However, if the current political stalemate continued, the Secretary-General said, the Council's options would be: (a) to reduce further UNOMIL's military component and limit the Mission's mandate to the provision of good offices, until the parties clearly demonstrated the political will necessary to reactivate the peace process; or (b) to withdraw UNOMIL, a decision that would send a signal to ECOWAS and the Liberian people that the international community had given up its effort to help to find a peaceful solution to the conflict in Liberia.

During the following weeks, the peace process in Liberia remained at an impasse. All further efforts to reach agreement on the new Council of State proved unsuccessful. Moreover, military activities intensified throughout the country. The civilian population continued to suffer and the factions' military activities impeded the delivery of essential relief items to most areas of the country other than Buchanan, Kakata and Monrovia. In the meantime, in addition to the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania, the Government of Uganda had indicated its intention to withdraw from ECOMOG. The withdrawal of both contingents would bring the strength of ECOMOG down from 8,430 to approximately 6,843 all ranks.

In its resolution 972 (l995), the Security Council had expressed the hope that the member States of ECOWAS would convene a summit with a view to harmonizing their policies on Liberia, including tightening the application of the arms embargo. Meeting in Copenhagen on 11 March 1995, the Secretary-General and President Rawlings agreed that the summit should take place as soon as possible and should bring together the heads of State of the ECOWAS Committee of Nine and also involve the leaders of the Liberian parties.

On 10 April 1995, the Secretary-General told the Security Council that the proposed ECOWAS summit offered a possibility that the peace process might shortly be re-launched. In those circumstances, it would be premature to withdraw UNOMIL. Accordingly, he recommended that the Security Council extend the mandate of UNOMIL until 30 June 1995. However, given the fact that the security situation prevented UNOMIL from carrying out many aspects of its mandate, it was his intention to reduce its military strength by a further 20 observers. He hoped that, during that period, ECOWAS would have sufficient time to prepare for and convene its summit and that the parties would finally cooperate fully with the ongoing efforts of ECOWAS and the international community to restore peace in Liberia.

On 13 April, the Security Council, by its resolution 985 (1995) decided to extend the mandate of UNOMIL until 30 June 1995 and urged all Liberian parties to implement the Akosombo and Accra Agreements. The Council urged all States, and in particular all neighbouring States, to comply fully with the embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Liberia imposed by resolution 788 (1992), and to that

end decided to establish a Committee of the Security Council, consisting of all the members of the Council, to monitor and help improve the embargo's effectiveness, and to recommend measures in response to violations. The Council expressed its appreciation to the Chairman of ECOWAS for his initiative in organizing a regional summit on Liberia and to the Government of Nigeria for agreeing to host it.

ECOWAS SUMMIT

The Third Meeting of Heads of State and Government of the ECOWAS Committee of Nine on Liberia was held at Abuja from 17 to 20 May 1995. The meeting was also attended by representatives of the United Nations, OAU and the United States. The following Liberian parties sent their delegations: AFL, LNC, LPC, NPFL, CRC-NPFL, ULIMO-K, and ULIMO-J. Mr. Kpomakpor, the Chairman of the Council of State, also participated in the meeting. Delegations of all the Liberian factions except NPFL were headed by their respective leaders.

Despite four days of discussions and the emergence of a substantial measure of agreement on nearly all the outstanding issues, the Liberian parties were unable to reach a final agreement on the composition of the Council of State. In a final communiqué dated 20 May 1995, the heads of State and Government requested the leaders of the Liberian parties to conduct the necessary consultations towards a definitive solution, and entrusted the Ministers of the Committee of Nine with responsibility for reconvening a meeting of the Liberian parties within a short period in order finally to resolve the outstanding issues.

The ECOWAS leaders expressed their concern over the continued flow of arms into Liberia, in violation of the arms embargo. They requested ECOMOG and UNOMIL to improve the existing monitoring mechanisms and appealed to the international community to provide logistical support to ECOWAS in order to facilitate the effective patrolling of Liberia's borders and stem the flow of arms into the country.

FIGHTING CONTINUES

In the meantime, fighting in Liberia continued between ULIMO-K and ULIMO-J in Grand Cape Mount and Bomi counties; between NPFL and ULIMO-K in Lofa county; between NPFL and ULIMO-J in Bong and Margibi counties; and between NPFL and LPC in Grand Bassa and Maryland counties. Several towns changed hands, and there were reports of human rights abuses as combatants moved into or out of a particular area. All this resulted in a continued influx of displaced persons into the ECOMOG-controlled areas of Buchanan and Kakata. Contending factions continued to block access routes into inhabited areas, resulting in the disruption of the delivery of relief supplies and unnecessary suffering of civilians. Because of the unstable security situation, ECOMOG's deployment remained restricted to the central region and to some areas of the western region. United Nations military observers were co-deployed with ECOMOG in Buchanan, Kakata and Monrovia.

Although the humanitarian situation continued to remain critical, there was some expansion of humanitarian assistance activities in Bomi and Cape Mount counties. The declaration in mid-April by ECOMOG that the areas around Bo Waterside, Tiene, Kle and Tubmanburg were "safe havens" resulted in the increased delivery of assistance to those regions. At the same time, in the areas around Gbarnga, Kakata and Bong Mines, the factions continued to prevent the delivery of relief supplies. To formulate a comprehensive programme of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants, the Secretary-General's Special Representative convened a task force consisting of representatives of UNOMIL, ECOMOG, the UNDP Resident Coordinator, the transitional government, donor Governments and NGOs.

In collaboration with United Nations agencies in Liberia, national and international NGOs and local counterparts, the office of the Coordinator continued to develop a strategy for the delivery of humanitarian assistance. By June 1995, the United Nations consolidated inter-agency appeal for Liberia had received $49 million of the total $65 million requested, most of it in support of food aid needs.

UNOMIL'S MANDATE EXTENDED

On 10 June 1995, the Secretary-General recommended to the Security Council the extension of UNOMIL's mandate for a period of three months. He expressed hope that during that period the Liberian parties would reach agreement on the outstanding issues and demonstrate, through concrete steps, the political will necessary to bring the long standing crisis to an end. These steps would include the installation and functioning of the Council of State; a comprehensive ceasefire; the disengagement of forces; and an agreed timetable and schedule for the implementation of other aspects of their agreements, in particular the disarmament process. In the event that the political stalemate continued, UNOMIL would, subject to the consent of the Security Council, be terminated and converted into a good offices mission, including a small military cell, which would maintain liaison with ECOMOG. If, on the other hand, significant progress was made, the Secretary-General would recommend that the Council consider restoring UNOMIL to its full strength. The Mission's role, however, and its relationship with ECOMOG would have to be adjusted to enable both operations to carry out their respective functions more effectively.

The Secretary-General called on the Liberian faction leaders to do all they could to "give peace a chance, to save innocent civilians from death and suffering, and to avoid the continuing destruction of Liberia as a result of their inability to settle their differences". By its resolution 1001 (1995) of 30 June, the Security Council extended UNOMIL's mandate until 15 September 1995 and declared that unless serious and substantial progress was made towards a peaceful settlement, the Mission's mandate would not be renewed.

JULY–NOVEMBER 1995

ABUJA AGREEMENT

Following the adoption of resolution 1001 (1995), diplomatic efforts aimed at moving the peace process forward intensified. In July, the Liberian parties held a series of meetings in Monrovia. Liberian faction leaders also consulted extensively with the Chairman of ECOWAS, President Jerry Rawlings of Ghana, and other leaders of the subregion. In addition, the Secretary-General's Special Representative and the representatives of ECOWAS and OAU continued their efforts to facilitate the peace process.

Meeting on 28 and 29 July at Accra, the ECOWAS Heads of State adopted a resolution stating that the withdrawal of UNOMIL would compromise the efforts made by ECOMOG and affect the situation in the subregion. They called on the Security Council to review its decision to withdraw UNOMIL from Liberia if the peace process had not progressed significantly. The Chairman of ECOWAS then convened a meeting of the Liberian factions at Abuja from 16 to 19 August. The leaders of all the parties, as well as Chief Tamba Taylor, representing the traditional chiefs, attended the meeting. Representatives of the Nigerian Government, the Eminent Person of OAU for Liberia and the Secretary-General's Special Representative were also present as facilitators.

After four days of intensive discussions, the Abuja talks culminated on 19 August 1995 in the signing by the Liberian parties of an agreement, amending and supplementing the Cotonou and Akosombo accords, as subsequently clarified by the Accra agreements. In accordance with provisions of the Abuja Agreement, a comprehensive ceasefire was established on 26 August at midnight and a new six-member Council was installed on 1 September, one day ahead of schedule. The Council comprised Mr. Wilton Sankawolo as its Chairman; Dr. George Boley, representing the coalition of LPC, CRC-NPFL and LDF; Mr. Alhaji Kromah of ULIMO; Mr. Oscar Quiah of LNC; Chief Tamba Taylor; and Mr. Charles Taylor of NPFL. AFL was given the defence portfolio, while General Roosevelt Johnson's wing of ULIMO (ULIMO-J) was given a number of ministerial posts. The new Council of State would remain in power for one year, until the holding of elections on 20 August 1996. The Agreement also included a schedule of implementation and a formula for the distribution of government posts.

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AGREEMENT

An ECOWAS delegation visited Liberia from 25 to 27 August to assess the situation on the ground and confirmed that the factions had sent instructions to their forces to lay down arms and observe the ceasefire. In the meantime, UNOMIL and ECOMOG began active preparations for the implementation of the Agreement. The Ceasefire Violations Committee, chaired by UNOMIL and consisting of ECOMOG and representatives of the transitional government and the factions, met in the beginning of September to review with the factions plans for monitoring the ceasefire and the implementation of the other provisions of the Agreement, including disarmament and demobilization. A Disarmament Committee, chaired by ECOMOG and comprising UNOMIL, the transitional government and representatives of the armed factions, with the participation of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), was established to draw up plans for the disengagement of forces, disarmament and the exchange of prisoners of war. The international community was urgently requested to provide support for ECOMOG as well as for the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of combatants.

The humanitarian situation in several parts of Liberia also improved. Negotiations between UNOMIL, ECOMOG and a number of factions resulted in the opening of critical roads from Kakata to Gbarnga and from Kakata to Bong Mines. This allowed United Nations agencies and NGOs to begin delivering aid to previously cut-off locations in central and northern Liberia. In addition to increasing their activities in new areas, relief agencies continued to provide relatively unimpeded assistance to needy populations in ECOMOG-controlled areas. However, logistical constraints and the absence of credible security guarantees for other parts of Liberia continued to prevent sustained humanitarian activity in much of the country, including Lofa county and south-west Liberia.

The Secretary-General observed to the Security Council on 13 September 1995 that "... the prospects for peace in Liberia are perhaps better now than they have been at any time since the outbreak of the civil war". He emphasized, however, that ultimately it was the Liberian leaders who were primarily responsible for the restoration of peace in their country. He recommended that the Council consider extending the mandate of UNOMIL until 31 January 1996 and identified several elements which, in his view, were crucial for the success of the peace process in Liberia. Among them, he pointed to the need for international assistance in re-building the country's economy and infrastructure and strengthening governmental institutions. Another important factor was the disarmament and demobilization of Liberia's estimated 50,000 to 60,000 combatants, of whom as many as 25 per cent were children, and their effective reintegration into civilian life. The country's national police force did not have the capacity to maintain law and order and, therefore, technical and logistic assistance should be provided in that area.

There was also an urgent need to provide ECOMOG with adequate financial and logistic resources to enable it to carry out its responsibilities in Liberia effectively. The Secretary-General intended to dispatch a mission to Liberia in order to assess the requirements involved in the implementation of the Abuja Agreement. He also informed the Council of his intention to deploy 42 additional military observers to UNOMIL, in order for the Mission to carry out its responsibilities in monitoring the ceasefire and the disengagement of forces. At the same time, UNOMIL would continue to work with ECOMOG on the adoption of a new joint concept of operations. The Security Council welcomed the steps to resolve the conflict in Liberia peacefully and extended the mandate of UNOMIL as recommended by the Secretary-General.

NEW MANDATE AND CONCEPT OF OPERATIONS

A United Nations technical team visited Liberia from 19 to 30 September to consult with the Liberian leaders and other interested parties on the requirements for the implementation of the Abuja Agreement. The team subsequently travelled to Accra for consultations with ECOWAS on 2 October. On 23 October, the Secretary-General submitted his recommendations to the Security Council on a new mandate and concept of operations for UNOMIL, based on the

findings of the mission and the lessons learned since the Mission had been established in September 1993.

In accordance with the peace agreements, ECOWAS would continue to play the lead role in the peace process in Liberia, while ECOMOG would retain the primary responsibility for assisting the transitional government in the implementation of the military provisions of the agreements. Under the proposed adjustment of UNOMIL's mandate, the Mission's main functions would be to exercise its good offices to support the efforts of ECOWAS and the transitional government; investigate allegations of reported ceasefire violations; recommend measures, in cooperation with ECOMOG and the transitional government, to prevent their recurrence and report to the Secretary-General accordingly; monitor compliance with the other military provisions of the peace agreements and verify their impartial application, especially disarming and demobilization of combatants; and assist in the maintenance of assembly sites agreed upon by ECOMOG, the transitional government and the factions, and in the implementation of a programme for demobilization of combatants, in cooperation with the transitional government, donor agencies and NGOs. UNOMIL would require 160 military observers to carry out these tasks. They would be co-located with ECOMOG.

UNOMIL would also support humanitarian assistance activities as appropriate; investigate and report to the Secretary-General on violations of human rights; assist local human rights groups in raising voluntary assistance for training and logistic support; observe and verify the election process, in consultation with OAU and ECOWAS, including the legislative and presidential elections, scheduled to take place on 20 August 1996.

The functions of ECOMOG had been defined to include the following tasks: to monitor the borders of Liberia and man the main entry points by land, sea or air in order to ensure that no arms or ammunition were brought into the country; to assemble and disarm combatants of all factions; to establish checkpoints to verify the movement of arms and assist in the return of refugees and internally displaced persons; and to carry out intensive patrols throughout the country to build confidence and create an atmosphere conducive to the holding of free and fair elections. For operational purposes, ECOMOG divided the country into three sectors, each under the control of a brigade. Accordingly, ECOMOG brigade headquarters would be established at Gbarnga, Greenville and Tubmanburg. ECOMOG force headquarters would remain in Monrovia.

ECOMOG strength in October 1995 was 7,269 all ranks. In order to fulfil its new tasks, ECOMOG planned to increase its strength to some 12,000 all ranks and to deploy its forces to nine safe havens (6,600 all ranks), 10 to 13 assembly sites (3,400 all ranks) and at 14 border crossing points (2,000 all ranks). Nigeria had indicated its readiness to provide two additional battalions, and Ghana and Guinea had also indicated their readiness to provide one each. Other ECOWAS countries were in principle prepared to contribute troops, subject to the availability of the required financial and logistical support.

By its resolution 1020 (1995) of 10 November, the Security Council decided to adjust UNOMIL's mandate and concept of operations, as recommended by the Secretary-General. The Council urged the transitional government to act to avoid ceasefire violations and to maintain the momentum of the peace process. The Council also urged all Member States to contribute to United Nations Trust Fund for Liberia, and to provide logistical and other assistance to ECOMOG.

HUMANITARIAN ASPECTS

As of October 1995, some 1.5 million people, out of a total population of approximately 2.3 million, continued to require humanitarian assistance, including some 700,000 displaced persons. In addition, UNHCR estimated that 727,000 Liberian refugees had sought asylum in neighbouring countries: 367,300 in Côte d'Ivoire, 395,000 in Guinea, 14,000 in Ghana, 4,600 in Sierra Leone and 4,000 in Nigeria. Following improvement in the political and security situation, new requirements for humanitarian assistance included extending relief aid to civiiians in previously inaccessible areas, providing for the repatriation of refugees and resettlement of internally displaced persons, and

addressing the humanitarian aspects of the demobilization of former combatants and their integration into civilian life.

To expand and strengthen the coordination mechanisms, the Secretary-General appointed, in November 1995, a United Nations Humanitarian Coordinator. Serving under the overall authority of the Special Representative, the Humanitarian Coordinator would support and coordinate the efforts of the operational agencies of the United Nations such as UNICEF, UNHCR and WFP, while mobilizing increased participation by FAO, UNDP and WHO in relief and resettlement activities and in the provision of assistance to demobilizing soldiers. Other United Nations agencies, such as the International Labour Organisation, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and the United Nations Volunteers, would contribute in areas related to their mandates. The Humanitarian Coordinator would also support the efforts of the wider humanitarian community, including non-governmental, international and multilateral organizations. In order to support the Humanitarian Coordinator in carrying out these functions, a Humanitarian Assistance Coordination Office (HACO) was established. The Office consisted of two units: a Humanitarian Assistance Coordination Unit and a Demobilization and Reintegration Unit.

DECEMBER 1995–NOVEMBER 1996

A TURN FOR THE WORSE

By the end of 1995, following some initial progress in the implementation of the peace agreements and improvement in the security and humanitarian conditions in the country, the situation in Liberia began to take another turn for the worse. The implementation of the Abuja Agreement was behind schedule. The critical aspects of the Agreement, disarmament and demobilization, did not begin at the time foreseen. There were serious violations of the ceasefire. These violations included intermittent fighting between Alhaji Kromah's forces (ULIMO-K) and Roosevelt Johnson's forces (ULIMO-J). Fighting also occurred between LPC and NPFL and between NPFL and ULIMO-K. There were also delays in deploying ECOMOG personnel and equipment throughout the country. At the end of December 1995, heavy fighting broke out at Tubmanburg as a result of attacks on ECOMOG by ULIMO-J troops. Casualties were suffered by the combatants and by the civilian population.

Despite intensive efforts by ECOWAS and the United Nations to put the peace process back on track, the first months of 1996 saw further deterioration of the situation. Skirmishes between different factions created discord among members of the Council of State, and as large numbers of fighters came into Monrovia, purportedly to protect their leaders, security in the city deteriorated. Furthermore, the Council of State, reportedly against the advice of some of its own members, adopted protocols under which the transitional government would be called "the Government of Liberia" and the Council of State the "collective presidency". Councilmen Taylor and Kromah began referring to their forces as "government forces".

In this volatile atmosphere, following confrontations between rival groups within ULIMO-J, the transitional government, on 23 March, issued a warrant for the arrest of General Roosevelt Johnson, accusing him of murder. On 6 April, the Rapid Reaction Unit of the national police, backed up by the forces of NPFL and ULIMO-K, attempted to arrest him forcibly. They were attacked by General Johnson's forces, supported by fighters from AFL.

The fighting was accompanied by the complete breakdown of law and order in Monrovia. Fighters from all factions systematically looted the commercial district as well as United Nations offices and warehouses. Houses were broken into, buildings were set on fire and vehicles were commandeered.

Civilians were caught in the crossfire. More than half of Monrovia's 1.3 million citizens were displaced, with many thousands concentrated in several locations in an attempt to escape the fighting. Thousands of others sought refuge in neighbouring countries.

During the first days of the crisis, United Nations staff members were forced from their homes and offices; they were robbed and harassed while seeking safety and when the vehicles they were driving were

hijacked. On a number of occasions, local United Nations staff displayed particular bravery in assisting United Nations international personnel to safety.

UNOMIL and the United Nations agencies were forced to relocate all non-essential personnel to neighbouring countries or to repatriate them. Eighty-eight of UNOMIL's 93 military observers were relocated to Freetown and Dakar, with the assistance of the United States Government. Subsequently, most of these observers were repatriated. However, the Special Representative and five military observers, among them the Chief Military Observer, and essential civilian staff remained in Monrovia to support the political efforts aimed at peacefully resolving the crisis. Ten UNOMIL military observers remained on standby in Freetown.

ECOMOG was unable to halt the hostilities. It maintained that the fighting was a matter between the factions and that it could not intervene in view of its limited manpower and resources, as well as the nature of its mandate as a peacekeeping force. Given these constraints, ECOMOG was also unable to provide protection for United Nations personnel and property. However, once ECOMOG received reinforcements from outlying areas, it assigned a security detail to the United Nations residential compound at Riverview and for the Secretary-General's Special Representative, as well as for the mediation team — the Ambassadors of Guinea, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and the United States, along with ECOMOG and UNOMIL — and some faction representatives involved in consultations to end the crisis.

In accordance with the ceasefire arrangements that went into effect on 19 April, ECOMOG deployed in central Monrovia establishing check-points and undertaking patrols, as fighters started to withdraw from the city. UNOMIL also patrolled the city. In addition, UNOMIL monitored military developments, convened meetings of the Ceasefire Violations Committee and organized security escorts for faction representatives participating in consultations to resolve the crisis.

Fighters continued to move freely, however, and when the ceasefire broke down on 29 April, ECOMOG withdrew to specific locations in sufficient numbers to deter attack from the factions.

DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVES

In the meantime, diplomatic efforts aimed at resuming the peace process continued. At their meeting held on 7 and 8 May in Accra, the ECOWAS Foreign Ministers adopted the Mechanism for Returning Liberia to the Abuja Agreement, under which they reaffirmed the Agreement as the only basis for peace in Liberia and agreed upon a number of conditions to be fulfilled by the Liberian factions. These conditions included the restoration of the ceasefire; the withdrawal of fighters and the deployment of ECOMOG in Monrovia; the removal of arms from the city and the restoration of Monrovia as a safe haven; the guarantee of freedom of movement for civilians; and the return of weapons taken from ECOMOG and vehicles and other equipment looted from UNOMIL, the United Nations agencies and non-governmental organizations. ECOWAS warned the faction leaders that if they did not implement those steps, it would have to reconsider its involvement in Liberia at its next summit meeting scheduled for August 1996.

ECOWAS also decided that the protocols adopted by the Council of State declaring the transitional Government to be "the Government of Liberia" and the Council of State to be its "collective presidency" contradicted the spirit of the Abuja Agreement. ECOWAS stressed that the transitional government must be inclusive, and made clear its resolve not to recognize any government installed through the use of force. The members of the Council of State subsequently welcomed the recommendations of the Foreign Ministers and stated they would abide by them.

UNOMIL'S MANDATE RENEWED, MAY 1996

Reporting to the Security Council on 21 May, the Secretary-General observed that in the insecure and unstable conditions that prevailed in Monrovia and throughout Liberia, there was little that UNOMIL could accomplish with respect to implementing its original mandate. At the same time, through the use of its good offices, UNOMIL continued to play an important role in supporting the efforts of ECOWAS to facilitate the resumption of the peace process. The Secretary-

General, therefore, recommended that the Council extend the mandate of UNOMIL for three months, until 31 August. During that period, UNOMIL's strength would remain at the level of approximately 25 civilian and military personnel. At the same time, the Secretary-General indicated that following the ECOWAS Summit, he would submit to the Council recommendations on the role, if any, that UNOMIL could play after 31 August. These recommendations would depend on the ECOWAS decisions regarding its own role in Liberia.

The Security Council, in its resolution 1059 (1996), agreed with the Secretary-General's recommendation and called upon the Liberian parties to implement fully and expeditiously all the agreements and commitments they had already entered into, in particular the Abuja Agreement. The Council demanded that the parties restore an effective and comprehensive ceasefire, withdraw all fighters and arms from Monrovia, allow the deployment of ECOMOG, and restore Monrovia as a safe haven.

CEASEFIRE RESTORED

As of mid-May 1996, ECOMOG was deployed on Bushrod Island and maintained a presence at the telecommunications headquarters, the two bridges leading to the north and the airport. ECOMOG also maintained a presence at the seaport and around the Riverview compound. Outside Monrovia, ECOMOG continued to maintain its presence in Buchanan and Kakata. However, ECOMOG completely withdrew from Gbarnga, Bo, Tiene and Sinje and reduced its strength in Buchanan and Kakata, to provide reinforcements for Monrovia. ECOMOG suffered a number of casualties following the resumption of fighting.

The diplomatic initiatives taken by ECOWAS led to the restoration of a ceasefire in Monrovia on 26 May. By the end of May, ECOMOG reported that 70 to 80 per cent of NPFL and ULIMO-K fighters had left the city, although many remained it its outskirts. ULIMO-J and LPC fighters contended that their strongholds in Tubmanburg, Todee, Kakata and Bong Mines, to which they were to withdraw, were insecure. On 11 June, however, a number of these fighters gave up their arms to ECOMOG. Most of them reportedly remained in Monrovia, albeit unarmed, while others moved towards Grand Cape county.

ECOMOG launched a cordon and search operation in and around Monrovia to collect the arms left behind. UNOMIL verified the process and assisted ECOMOG to keep a systematic record of the weapons collected and in making arrangements for their storage.

Outside Monrovia, hostilities continued in the south-east and west. The two wings of ULIMO remained engaged in Bomi and Grand Cape Mount counties, particularly in the areas of Tubmanburg and Robertsport. Hostilities also continued between NPFL and LPC in the south-east and reports were received of NPFL incursions into the LPC stronghold of Greenville. Fighting between NPFL and LPC occasionally spilled over the border into Côte d'Ivoire.

NEW IMPLEMENTATION TIMETABLE

The ECOWAS Heads of State, meeting in Abuja on 26 and 27 July 1996, strongly condemned the faction leaders for their continued inability to settle the conflict peacefully. The newly-elected Chairman of ECOWAS, General Sani Abacha, Head of State of Nigeria, met the faction leaders on 30 July, upon the conclusion of the summit. The faction leaders then issued a statement indicating their agreement to end immediately and unconditionally all hostilities throughout Liberia, to disengage their forces, to dismantle all checkpoints and to disarm by the end of September 1996. Some checkpoints were in fact dismantled, but the leaders failed to meet their commitments and did not convene a meeting of the Council of State. In the meantime, a number of civilian groups called on the factions to disarm and on the Council of State to de-factionalize government ministries and institutions, as well as the Electoral Commission, as conditions for holding free and fair elections.

The ECOWAS Foreign Ministers, at the request of the Heads of State, met in Abuja on 14 August to work out the modalities for restoring the peace process. A number of Liberian civilian groups and all faction leaders were present in Abuja for the meetings

and were fully consulted by ECOWAS in the course of its deliberations.

The Foreign Ministers agreed on a new timetable for the implementation of the Abuja Agreement, starting with the restoration of the ceasefire by 31 August 1996, the commencement of disarmament and demobilization on 22 November, and concluding with the holding of free and fair elections on 30 May 1997. The new government would be installed on 15 June 1997. During each of five stages, ECOWAS would verify that the necessary steps had been implemented in accordance with the provisions of the Agreement and its timetable. Any person or group found responsible for obstructing the implementation of the Agreement would be subject to the imposition of sanctions by ECOWAS. The timetable also provided for periodic assessments by ECOWAS, UNOMIL, representatives of the donor community and the transitional government. (Assessment meetings took place on 16-17 October 1996 and 16 January 1997.) The Foreign Ministers also recommended that a code of conduct be established for members of the Council of State and transitional government.

In meetings held on 15 and 16 August, the faction leaders and civilian groups agreed to the decisions reached by the ECOWAS Foreign Ministers, as well as the need to appoint a new Chairperson of the Council of State. On 17 August, the ECOWAS Heads of State endorsed the decisions taken by the Foreign Ministers and the designation of Ms. Ruth Perry, a former Senator from Grand Cape Mount county and a former member of the Transitional Legislative Assembly, as the new Chairperson of the Council of State. They also endorsed the decision of the Foreign Ministers to seek the assistance of the United Nations in the organization of elections in Liberia.

During a meeting of the ECOWAS Chiefs of Staff in Abuja on 13 August, the ECOMOG Field Commander, Major-General J. Inienger, reported that ECOMOG would require substantial additional resources to be able to maintain peace and security in Monrovia and respond to any tasks involved in a new schedule for the implementation of the Abuja Agreement. Many ECOWAS Chiefs of Staff indicated the desire of their Governments to contribute additional troops to ECOMOG, but stated they would require logistic support in order to do so.

Upon completion of his tour of duty in August 1996, General Inienger was succeeded as ECOMOG Field Commander by Major-General Victor Malu, also of Nigeria.

MANDATE RENEWED, AUGUST 1996

As the date neared for the renewal of UNOMIL's mandate, the Secretary-General reported to the Security Council that 5 additional military observers had been redeployed to Monrovia, bringing total strength in Liberia to 10 military observers as at 21 August 1996. The observers on standby in Freetown had been repatriated.

He also reported that UNOMIL had increased the frequency and areas covered by its patrols. By August, regular patrols included Kakata and Buchanan; UNOMIL had gone as far north as Gbarnga. Efforts to reach Tubmanburg had failed, however, owing to continued insecurity and lack of cooperation from the factions. In light of the factions' commitments at the meetings of the ECOWAS Heads of State, the Secretary-General stated his intention to immediately deploy an additional 24 military observers. However, this deployment was delayed as progress lagged in the implementation of the Abuja Agreement.

On 30 August 1996, the Security Council, in its resolution 1071 (1996), extended UNOMIL's mandate until 30 November, as recommended by the Secretary-General. The Council decided to maintain UNOMIL deployment at an appropriate level and requested the Secretary-General to take into account the need to ensure the security of UNOMIL personnel. The Council also requested him to report on proposals for assistance which UNOMIL or other United Nations agencies could provide in support of the Liberian peace process.

CLIMATE OF MISTRUST

On 3 September 1996, Ms. Perry was inducted into office, becoming the first woman Head of State in Africa. On 10 September, the Council of State met for

the first time since the outbreak of hostilities in April. A decision was taken to establish a number of committees to assist in the implementation of the Abuja Agreement, including in regard to elections and the restructuring of the joint security, police and other paramilitary structures. A committee of all the signatories to the Agreement was also established to monitor implementation of the peace process.

Despite efforts to establish a cohesive Council of State, the faction leaders on the Council remained deeply mistrustful of one another. Although the ceasefire continued to hold in Monrovia, and all factions except LPC gave orders to their commanders to cease hostilities, fighting nevertheless continued in parts of the country. Some of these hostilities involved only minor skirmishes, but there were also atrocities of the kind perpetrated at Sinje, where, on 28 September, at least 21 civilians were killed during an attack on the village. The Special Representative established an Ad-Hoc Committee of Inquiry to review and collect available evidence on the incident; the Ceasefire Violations Committee also undertook an investigation. [*See Human rights aspects, below.*] The factions also continued to impede efforts to provide assistance to suffering people and to abuse international personnel.

On 10 October, the LPC leader reported to UNOMIL that NPFL forces had overrun the city of Greenville. The allegations were investigated by the Ceasefire Violations Committee which concluded that NPFL had overrun the city some time during the month of September 1996, in violation of the Abuja Agreement. The Committee's report was considered by the ECOWAS Committee of Nine during its meeting at Monrovia on 8 November, and was then forwarded to the Chairman of ECOWAS for review and appropriate action.

On 27 October, the leaders of the two wings of ULIMO, Alhaji Kromah and Roosevelt Johnson, agreed to cease hostilities in the west, create a buffer zone between their forces there and establish a joint committee of their ground commanders to ensure the cessation of hostilities and oversee the disengagement of their forces. ECOMOG and UNOMIL increased their patrols in the area and observed that, while the situation remained fragile, the two factions had begun to implement their agreements. Most areas of the south-east remained relatively calm, and the ceasefire in Monrovia continued to hold. Tension continued between LPC and NPFL.

The climate worsened on 31 October when, in an apparent assassination attempt on Councilman Charles Taylor, five persons, including a close personal aide to Mr. Taylor, were killed at the Executive Mansion. As a result of the deep divisions which resurfaced within the Council of State following this incident, the Council did not meet again until 16 January 1997. A joint investigation of the incident was undertaken by the Ministry of Justice, UNOMIL and ECOMOG.

PROPOSALS TO SUPPORT PEACE PROCESS

In its resolution 1071 (1996) of 30 August, the Security Council had requested the Secretary-General to submit proposals for assistance which UNOMIL or other United Nations agencies could contribute in support of the Liberian peace process. With this in mind, the Secretary-General dispatched a technical team to Liberia, which was led by his Deputy Military Adviser.

The team's visit had been preceded by discussions locally on disarmament and demobilization. Based on 1993 data, the number of fighters had been estimated at 60,000. (This number was subsequently revised downwards.) At ECOMOG's request, the factions, which were to be responsible for delivering their fighters to disarmament and demobilization centres, tentatively identified 12 such centres. UNOMIL, ECOMOG and the humanitarian community felt that, in light of the scarcity of resources and ECOMOG's troop strength, disarmament and demobilization could take place at five or six centres within a period of about three months. ECOMOG indicated that additional centres could be established if additional manpower and logistic resources were provided.

In making his proposals to the Security Council, the Secretary-General estimated that the required strength of UNOMIL's military component, in accordance with the mandate as set out in Security Council resolution 1020 (1995) and ECOMOG's revised concept of operations, would not exceed 92 military ob-

servers, or some 68 fewer than authorized under resolution 1020 (1995). These would include monitoring/verification teams at each disarmament/demobilization centre and mobile teams to continue monitoring and observing, in conjunction with ECOMOG, the implementation of the ceasefire, the disengagement of forces, the collection of weapons at areas other than the disarmament and demobilization sites, and compliance by the factions with the other military provisions of the Abuja Agreement, including the arms embargo. Staff at UNOMIL's military headquarters in Monrovia would include the Chief Military Observer and his immediate staff, an operations cell, an ECOMOG liaison cell, a logistic cell and a medical unit.

The Secretary-General also proposed that, after the completion of disarmament and demobilization, UNOMIL's military component would maintain a presence in Liberia to continue monitoring the implementation of the military provisions of the Abuja Agreement. It would thus help to build the confidence necessary for the electoral period. UNOMIL's military component would start drawing down after the elections, scheduled to take place by 30 May 1997.

On 8 November 1996, the Council addressed a letter to the Secretary-General welcoming his proposals. The members of the Council were concerned, however, that conditions in Liberia were not right for their implementation at that time. It was the Council's understanding that the Secretary-General would not deploy the additional personnel and logistic resources unless the factions took the concrete steps required to fulfil their commitments under the revised timetable of the Abuja Agreement.

NOVEMBER MANDATE RENEWAL

On 19 November, as the mandate period drew to a close, the Secretary-General reported to the Security Council that despite the shooting incident at the Executive Mansion on 31 October 1996, there had been some relatively encouraging developments during the previous three months. ECOMOG had acted quickly and decisively to respond to events. ECOWAS countries had reiterated their determination to increase the force level of ECOMOG, subject to the provision of logistic and financial resources. The code of conduct for the Council of State, adopted by the ECOWAS Committee of Nine at its meeting on 8 and 9 November, had been accepted by all members of the Council. Furthermore, the first assessment meeting had taken place on 16 and 17 October.

The Committee of Nine had also established a subcommittee to review, in consultation with the United Nations and the transitional government, the question of elections and develop the modalities of the electoral process. For its part, the Council of State had established a committee to seek the views of Liberians and others on issues relating to the holding of elections.

There had also been a rapprochement between the two wings of ULIMO. The Secretary-General remained concerned, however, about the continuing tensions between some of the other factions, in particular NPFL and LPC. He called upon the leaders of these factions to put aside their differences for the sake of peace and to make use of the political process.

As at 15 November, the military strength of UNOMIL stood at 23 observers. The activities of UNOMIL and ECOMOG at that time included preparing for disarmament and undertaking joint patrols in the west, in Grand Cape Mount and Bomi counties, and in the north in Bong and Nimba counties, in order to monitor the ceasefire and the other military aspects of the Abuja Agreement.

Throughout this period, ECOMOG's priority continued to be to ensure security in Monrovia. Consequently, the majority of its 7,500 troops were deployed in Monrovia and its environs, including Kakata and the Po River. ECOMOG was also deployed in Buchanan, and a battalion of ECOMOG troops had been redeployed to Greenville in order to facilitate the cessation of hostilities there. ECOMOG was also taking steps to deploy at Harper, the only port where it was not then deployed.

The Secretary-General expected that, in conjunction with the deployment of ECOMOG and the commencement of disarmament, an additional 11 military observers would be deployed to Liberia in the coming

weeks, bringing the strength of UNOMIL's military component to 34 observers. The deployment of any additional military observers to Liberia would depend on progress in the peace process, particularly with regard to disarmament and demobilization.

The Secretary-General recommended that the Security Council extend the mandate of UNOMIL for a further period of four months, until 31 March 1997. By its resolution 1083 (1996), the Council agreed with this recommendation and decided to maintain UNOMIL deployment at an appropriate level. The Council called upon the factions to cease hostilities and to implement their commitments, especially the timetable for the implementation of the Abuja Agreement, and urged them to complete on time the disarmament process. It condemned in the strongest possible terms the practice of recruiting, training and deploying children for combat. It also emphasized the human rights aspect of UNOMIL's mandate.

DISARMAMENT/DEMOBILIZATION PROCESS

UNOMIL had undertaken intensive preparations for the disarmament and reintegration process. However, following the outbreak of hostilities on 6 April and the looting which ensued, all resources pre-positioned for this process were lost and all relevant staff were repatriated. Subsequently, as prospects for peace improved, HACO reactivated its Demobilization and Reintegration Unit. The Unit's purpose was to coordinate and manage the provision of food, health services, locally produced shelter, water and basic sanitation for the disarmament/demobilization centres and coordinate bridging activities with local authorities, United Nations agencies and international and local NGOs.

In early September, the Task Force on Demobilization and Reintegration was reactivated. This was a coordinating body chaired by HACO and comprising UNOMIL, United Nations agencies, ECOMOG, the Liberian National Disarmament and Demobilization Commission (the transitional government agency charged with responsibility for coordinating disarmament activities with the factions) and representatives of the European Union, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and international and national NGOs. The Task Force revised the previously adopted demobilization and reintegration plans to suit the new schedule of implementation of the Abuja Agreement. It also established two subcommittees to draw up revised plans for child soldiers and resettlement.

In accordance with the revised timetable, disarmament and demobilization were scheduled to commence on 22 November 1996. On 19 November, the Secretary-General reported to the Security Council that the ECOMOG Force Commander had indicated his intention to deploy ECOMOG troops on 20 November to the following disarmament sites: Voinjama, Bo Waterside, Camp Nama, SOS Village, Zwedru and Tubmanburg. Disarmament would also take place in Monrovia, at Camp Schiefflin, and in Greenville. UNOMIL military observers were to be co-deployed with ECOMOG at the disarmament sites.

The disarmament/demobilization process began as scheduled [*see below*]. According to the two-stage plan developed by HACO and UNOMIL in consultation with ECOMOG, the transitional government and the factions, the combatants were to be disarmed, registered, interviewed and receive some counselling and a medical examination. Thereafter, those with no immediate means of livelihood were to be absorbed into "bridging activities" — work and training projects to help ensure they were productively engaged — in order to bridge the gap between disarmament and longer-term reintegration programmes. The ex-combatants were to be provided with food assistance for the duration of the bridging activities and such tools and equipment as deemed appropriate.

Under General Assembly resolution 50/210 of 23 December 1995, the costs of the demobilization programme, including bridging activities, had been included in the assessed budget of UNOMIL. The reintegration programmes, which were being planned by donors, were not expected to be operational until some months after the start of the disarmament process.

REVIEW OF OTHER HUMANITARIAN ASPECTS

By January 1996, the opening of some highways had permitted the provision of assistance to populations that had been cut off for nearly three years. Relief convoys were generally escorted by unarmed factional representatives. However, relief activities were impeded by poor communications between faction leaders and their fighters in the hinterland. In an effort to ensure the security of relief convoys and personnel, the Special Representative and the Humanitarian Coordinator worked closely with the transitional government in this regard.

Progress by the humanitarian community in reaching inaccessible communities could not be sustained, however, because of increased insecurity. As a result, populations in need could not be reached by relief organizations. Humanitarian workers in all parts of the country were harassed by fighters, their convoys held up and supplies looted. Some non-governmental organizations suspended all but emergency operations during four days in February. Relief convoys to the south-east were suspended, and previously accessible areas, such as Tubmanburg, Bomi County and Grand Cape Mount County also became inaccessible. Lofa County had been virtually inaccessible to the humanitarian community since December 1995, except for the cross-border activities of non-governmental organizations.

The fighting in Monrovia in April and May severely affected the humanitarian situation and humanitarian operations. The Ministry of Health estimated that 3,000 persons had died in the fighting. HACO subsequently confirmed that approximately 50 per cent of the city's population had fled their homes. Of these, 30 per cent moved to shelters in the city, while 17 per cent fled Monrovia, some seeking refuge in neighbouring countries. Countries in the subregion, however, were reluctant to accept additional refugees. In Monrovia, overcrowding in safer parts of the city led to a deterioration of sanitary conditions and increased vulnerability of the population to epidemic diseases, including cholera.

Provision of assistance was constrained by continued insecurity, the systematic looting of equipment and the evacuation of the majority of international relief personnel. Despite these conditions, the United Nations Humanitarian Coordinator and other essential staff remained in Monrovia to assess humanitarian needs and arrange the delivery of relief and assistance. WFP, UNDP, WHO, UNICEF and UNHCR also maintained skeleton staffs in Monrovia.

Appeals to faction leaders to return vehicles and other assets went largely unheeded. Nevertheless, the humanitarian community, within its means, responded to needs in a timely and effective manner and, to the extent possible, increased its area of coverage. HACO led cross-line assessment missions to Nimba and Upper Lofa counties, and up-country deliveries were made from Monrovia to Bong, Margibi and Montserrado counties. Cross-border operations were undertaken from Côte d'Ivoire into parts of Nimba and Bong counties. The Buchanan area was kept supplied with relief items using boats.

Coming at a time when the humanitarian community was braced for a massive operation in the hinterland, the fighting compelled the community to re-examine its involvement in Liberia. The community's resources had been persistently looted over a period of six years; this had no doubt enhanced the operational capacity of the warring factions. Consequently, all members of the international non-governmental organization community took a collective stand to limit their activities to only life-saving activities until a safe working environment was restored. United Nations agencies also agreed on a common position, involving only essential services. It was agreed that future operations would be guided strictly by the Principles and Protocols of Humanitarian Operations adopted by both international non-governmental organizations and United Nations agencies in the summer of 1995.

In the following months, the humanitarian community, led by HACO, was able to negotiate access to previously inaccessible areas. On 7 September 1996, a team was able to reach Tubmanburg. Some areas of Grand Cape Mount County also opened up. By November, only 4 out of 13 counties remained inaccessible to the humanitarian community. Nevertheless, civilians and humanitarian workers continued to be harassed and abused by fighters. In some instan-

ces, civilians asked relief workers not to bring them food, fearing that it would only attract further harassment and suffering.

The outbreak of fighting on 6 April also shattered prospects for the imminent repatriation of more than 750,000 Liberian refugees, many of whom had been living in exile for more than six years. Planning for the return had been extensive and included a regional conference held by UNHCR in December 1995, an agreement establishing the national framework for repatriation and reintegration concluded on 3 January between the transitional government and UNHCR, and a $60 million appeal issued by UNHCR for this purpose.

According to the new timetable for the implementation of the Abuja Agreement, the repatriation of refugees was scheduled to take place from 22 November 1996 to 31 January 1997. However, in light of the continuing insecurity outside Monrovia, UNHCR could not reactivate its voluntary repatriation plan until there were clear indications that peace and security had been restored on a durable basis in the major areas of return.

Continued insecurity also prevented UNHCR from assisting the majority of Sierra Leonean refugees living in rural areas of Liberia, although at year's end UNHCR and its partners continued to extend protection and support to some 30,000 Sierra Leonean refugees in the Monrovia area.

HUMAN RIGHTS ASPECTS

The conflict in Liberia has been characterized by a tendency on the part of all factions to commit human rights violations against innocent civilians. When UNOMIL was established under resolution 866 (1993), it was mandated to report to the Secretary-General on any major violations of humanitarian law. In its resolution 1020 (1995) of 10 November 1995, the Security Council stressed the importance of respect of human rights in Liberia and, as indicated above, adjusted UNOMIL's mandate to include, among other things, investigating and reporting to the Secretary-General on violations of human rights. UNOMIL was also mandated to assist local human rights groups, as appropriate, in raising voluntary contributions for training and logistic support.

A human rights officer was assigned to UNOMIL to assist the Special Representative in carrying out this aspect of the mandate.

Following the adjustment of the mandate, and during the course of 1996, UNOMIL continued its activities relating to the investigation of reports of violence resulting in civilian casualties. These included the incident in late September 1995 in Tapeta, in which several civilians were killed by armed NPFL fighters. With regard to this and other violations committed in areas under factional control, the question of whether the accused were to be held and tried under national or factional jurisdiction remained unresolved.

UNOMIL also investigated reported executions by the LPC High Command of LPC combatants accused of indiscipline and harassment of civilians in Grand Bassa and River Cess counties. In another investigation, UNOMIL confirmed that, on 30 December 1995 in Tubmanburg, ULIMO-J fighters had used civilians as human shields and generally prevented civilians from fleeing the town; in addition, a mortar had landed at the government hospital, killing several civilians and injuring many more.

In an attack launched by ULIMO-J forces on ECOMOG positions in the town of Kle on 2 January 1996, casualties were reported among civilians caught in the fighting. Various sources reported that ULIMO-J fighters intentionally opened fire on local and displaced civilians, both in Tubmanburg and at Kle, particularly those considered supportive of ECOMOG.

In February and March 1996, there were reports that civilians in Grand Cape Mount County had been subjected to serious abuse and harassment from ULIMO-K forces, including an alarming number of rape cases. It was also reported that civilians had been robbed, beaten and forced to carry equipment. In lower Bomi County, unruly bands of ULIMO-J fighters robbed, beat, tortured and killed civilians and ransacked villages. Such abuse prompted the formation of civilian vigilante and self-defence brigades, often along ethnic lines, further provoking abuses from ULIMO-J forces. During the fighting in Kakata on 8

March 1996, civilians were beaten and a number of women were reportedly raped by fighters. UNOMIL received credible reports — which could not be independently verified — that a small number of ULIMO-J fighters were executed in Kakata after the fighting.

There were numerous reports of human rights abuses perpetrated by LPC fighters against civilian populations throughout the south-east, including reports of forced labour, robbery, beatings and killings.

Following the outbreak of fighting in April, many civilians were killed as a result of the cross-fire. There were numerous reports of human rights violations, including reports of rape, abductions, targeted killings of individuals and forced conscription. However, due to the lack of security, the severe reduction of staff and the widespread looting, UNOMIL was unable to investigate these reports actively. UNOMIL did confirm reports of two incidents when the heads of fighters were severed and displayed in the streets of Monrovia.

The massacre at Sinje on 28 September was a particularly shocking example of the violation of human rights and harassment of innocent civilians. UNOMIL, in cooperation with the Ministry of Justice, ECOMOG and national human rights groups, investigated the incident. It was determined that the civilians suffered decapitation, castration and blunt object trauma, in addition to gunshot wounds. The Human Rights officer also conducted a parallel inquiry to ascertain the whereabouts of persons who were abducted. The Ceasefire Violations Committee, in its investigation into the ceasefire violation aspects of the massacre, subsequently determined that the massacre appeared to be the work of some ULIMO fighters acting on their own. No evidence of the involvement of the ULIMO High Military Command could be established.

Following the Sinje massacre, UNOMIL also received reports of other violations and massacres in which civilians lost their lives.

The looting that followed the outbreak of fighting in Monrovia on 6 April also severely impeded the ability of local human rights groups to address reported violations of human rights. Nevertheless, the local groups undertook the process of rebuilding their capacity in this field, and UNOMIL, to the extent possible within its limited staffing and resources, continued to pursue its human rights mandate in assisting local human rights groups in their work. The Secretary-General indicated on a number of occasions his intention to strengthen UNOMIL's capacity to fulfil this critical aspect of its mandate. At the end of 1996, the UNOMIL human rights officer was working closely with UNDP, UNHCR and UNICEF officials to rebuild the capacity of national human rights organizations to carry out their functions. Five human rights organizations held a joint press conference on 30 December at which the results of their investigations into recent massacres were made public.

Among its other human rights related activities, UNOMIL maintained regular contact with ICRC, the Liberian factions, ECOMOG and the Disarmament Committee to monitor the status of prisoners of war. UNOMIL also monitored the status and condition of civilian detainees, and worked with the Liberian Ministry of Justice, UNDP and the Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Branch of the United Nations Secretariat in Vienna to examine ways in which the international community could strengthen the Liberian justice system. UNOMIL also facilitated discussions on the evacuation of wounded, exchange of prisoners and release of the bodies of soldiers killed in fighting.

UNICEF took the lead in addressing the issue of child soldiers. The Fund reported that all the factions recruited and deployed children for direct combat and related military tasks, often under duress and sometimes through peer pressure or manipulation. At one time, some 15,000 to 20,000 child soldiers were estimated to be under the control of the six major warring factions. UNICEF's programme for war-affected children, implemented through international and local NGOs, included support for the establishment of community centres for vocational and literacy training and the provision of shelters, transit-homes and trauma counselling for children. The programme was progressively re-established following the disruption caused by the 6 April hostilities.

DECEMBER 1996–FEBRUARY 1997

FIGHTERS DISARMED AND DEMOBILIZED

In its resolution 1083 (1996) of 27 November 1996, the Security Council had requested the Secretary-General to keep the Council informed of the situation in Liberia, especially on the progress of demobilization and disarmament. On 29 January 1997, Secretary-General Kofi Annan reported that, during the first week of the process (22–28 November), the factions' fighters had shown remarkable enthusiasm to disarm and had turned out in large numbers. During the second week, the pace had started to slow, later to gather speed once again. As of 26 January 1997, a total of 12,510 fighters had been disarmed and a total of 4,428 serviceable and 1,103 unserviceable weapons surrendered, as well as more than 500,000 pieces of ammunition. In order to lend credibility to the exercise, a fixed food ration, provided by WFP, was given only in exchange for a serviceable weapon or 100 rounds of ammunition.

At the same time, deep mutual suspicion and mistrust persisted among the factions. Some local commanders had been actively discouraging their fighters from disarming. UNOMIL was still receiving reports of ceasefire violations. Furthermore, neither the National Disarmament and Demobilization Commission nor the Council of State took the concerted action required in support of the disarmament process.

Amid increasing scepticism about the declared total of 60,000 fighters, ECOMOG and UNOMIL considered that a more realistic estimate of the overall number of fighters was some 33,000. That figure was conveyed to all the factions with a request to meet it by the 31 January deadline. The ECOMOG Force Commander declared that any fighters found with a weapon after 31 January 1997 would be treated as criminals.

When the disarmament and demobilization exercise began, UNOMIL and HACO were operating with the curtailed level of resources requested following the aftermath of the April 1996 crisis. Despite these constraints, however, UNOMIL was able to deploy two military observers to each of the designated sites at the Barclay Training Center, Camp Schiefflin, Tubmanburg, Bo Waterside, Kakata, Voinjama, Buchanan, Camp Nama and Zwedru on 22 November. HACO also deployed demobilization teams to all active sites. Additional sites were subsequently designated by the ECOMOG Force Commander at Tapeta, Greenville and Harper. UNOMIL deployed military observers to Tapeta and Greenville on 19 and 27 December respectively, followed by HACO demobilization teams. Military observers and HACO demobilization personnel were subsequently deployed to Harper. By the end of January 1997, UNOMIL's military strength stood at 78 observers. ECOMOG force strength remained at 7,500.

On 31 January, the disarmament and demobilization process was extended for an additional seven days. At its end, on 7 February, 20,332 fighters had disarmed and demobilized, including 4,306 children and 250 adult female fighters. There had ultimately been 15 disarmament/demobilization sites, where UNOMIL and ECOMOG were co-located. Mobile disarmament teams were also set up to reach fighters in remote areas.

A limited number of bridging activities also got under way. In addition to UNOMIL's $1.7 million financial commitment authority for this purpose, funds were also provided by the European Union and USAID as well as by United Nations agencies, particularly WFP and UNDP. FAO provided basic agricultural inputs and technical support.

THE ELECTORAL PROCESS

In late October 1996, the United Nations had received a formal request from the Council of State for assistance in developing a suitable electoral framework for the holding of elections. Following discussions with ECOWAS, a United Nations technical survey team arrived in Monrovia on 8 December 1996 and conducted consultations with a wide range of interested parties. The team focused its attention on what steps would be needed to create a viable and credible framework for free and fair elections by the end of May 1997. It identified three key conditions for success: a fair and credible political framework; an efficient and well-planned elec-

toral operation; and adequate support from the international community. Draft recommendations were then prepared.

On 14 January, the Secretary-General dispatched Mr. Lansana Kouyaté, Assistant Secretary-General for Political Affairs, as Special Envoy to the region for consultations on the draft recommendations. It was proposed to the Chairman of ECOWAS, and accepted by him, that a "provisional electoral package" for the forthcoming elections should be enacted at a special meeting of the ECOWAS Committee of Nine with the Liberian parties and become an integral part of the Abuja Agreement. The package would not seek to replace or reform the existing Liberian electoral system, nor to change the country's Constitution, but would serve as a provisional mechanism that would permit the installation of a government of national unity and pave the way for a return to constitutional order.

Although the Special Envoy found broad agreement among Liberians on many of the ideas suggested by the technical team, he also noted the inflexible tone of some of the reactions, especially on the part of certain of the faction leaders. In his report to the Council of 29 January 1997, the Secretary-General pointed out that further discussion would be required on some features of the recommendations, including the number of chambers in the legislative assembly; whether there should be a run-off in the presidential election; the composition of the electoral commission; voting by refugees; and the roles to be played by ECOWAS and the United Nations.

Once the electoral package had been enacted, a clear determination could be made as to how UNOMIL and the United Nations system could best provide support for the elections. At that time, specific recommendations on the role of UNOMIL would be submitted to the Security Council. The Secretary-General anticipated that these recommendations would be based upon joint coordination of the elections by the United Nations and ECOWAS.

COMPOSITION OF UNOMIL

On 20 November 1992, the Secretary-General appointed Mr. Trevor Livingston Gordon-Somers (Jamaica) as his Special Representative for Liberia. When UNOMIL was established on 22 September 1993, Mr. Gordon-Somers, as Special Representative, also served as head of mission. He was succeeded as Special Representative and head of mission by Mr. Anthony B. Nyakyi (United Republic of Tanzania) on 28 December 1994.

Major-General Daniel Ishmael Opande (Kenya) served as Chief Military Observer of UNOMIL from October 1993 until 30 May 1995, when he completed his tour of duty. On 16 November 1995, the Secretary-General informed the Security Council of his intention to appoint Major-General Mahmoud Talha (Egypt) as the new Chief Military Observer of UNOMIL. General Talha returned to his national service on 30 June 1996. Pending an increase in the strength of the Mission, the military component was headed by an Acting Chief Military Observer, Colonel David Magomere (Kenya). Subsequently, on 25 November 1996, the Secretary-General informed the Security Council of his intention to appoint Major-General Sikander Shami (Pakistan) as Chief Military Observer of UNOMIL. General Shami assumed his functions on 16 December.

When UNOMIL was established, the authorized strength of the Mission was 303 military observers, 20 military medical personnel and 45 military engineers. UNOMIL reached full strength in January 1994. In October 1994, given the deteriorating circumstances in Liberia, the Secretary-General decided to reduce UNOMIL's strength to some 90 military personnel. He further reduced the strength by 20 in May 1995 and again in July 1995, when 17 observers were redeployed to the United Nations operation in Rwanda.

After the signing of the Abuja Agreement, the Secretary-General stated his intention to increase UNOMIL's strength. On 23 October 1995, he informed the Council that approximately 160 military observers would be needed in connection with UNOMIL's new mandate and concept of operations. They would be deployed to Liberia in accordance with operational requirements, with maximum strength reached during the period of disarmament and demobilization scheduled for December 1995 and January 1996.

Strength at 31 December 1995 was 68 observers and 8 medical staff.

As of 5 April 1996, the strength of the UNOMIL's military component stood at 93 observers. Following the outbreak of fighting on 6 April, the number of observers was reduced to 15, ten of whom were on stand-by in Freetown and five, including the Chief Military Observer, remained in Monrovia. As at 15 May, those in Monrovia were provided by Egypt (2) and India (3). The observers on stand-by in Freetown were contributed by Bangladesh (3), India (2), Kenya (1), Malaysia (2) and Pakistan (2).

In November 1996, in accordance with UNOMIL's mandate as set out in Security Council resolution 1020 (1995) and ECOMOG's revised concept of operations, the Secretary-General estimated that the required strength of UNOMIL's military component would not exceed 92 military observers. At that time, there were 23 observers deployed in Liberia. By the end of January 1997, UNOMIL's military strength stood at 78 observers.

The following countries have provided military personnel, as of 31 January 1997: Austria (September 1993–November 1994), Bangladesh (September 1993 to date), Belgium (September–November 1993), Brazil (September–November 1993), China (October 1993 to date), Congo (September 1993–February 1994), Czech Republic (December 1993 to date), Egypt (December 1993 to date), Guinea-Bissau (September 1993–April 1996), Hungary (September 1993–January 1994), India (February 1994 to date), Jordan (October 1993–May 1996), Kenya (October 1993 to date), Malaysia (September 1993 to date), Nepal (November 1996 to date), Netherlands (November–December 1993), Pakistan (September 1993 to date), Poland (September 1993–April 1994), Russian Federation (September–November 1993), Slovak Republic (November 1993–October 1994), Sweden (September–November 1993) and Uruguay (September 1993 to date).

There was also a provision for 89 civilian international personnel, 58 United Nations Volunteers and 136 local staff. Budget estimates for the period mid-1995 through December 1995 included provision for 54 international staff, 110 locally recruited staff, and 7 United Nations Volunteers. In connection with the expansion of the mandate in October 1995, the Secretary-General increased those estimates by 51 international civilian staff, 442 local staff and 103 United Nations Volunteers.

For the period from 1 July 1996 to 30 June 1997, the Secretary-General requested provision for 43 international civilian staff and 47 local staff. On 22 October 1996, when he submitted his proposals for the expansion of UNOMIL, he recommended an increase in civilian personnel by 54 international staff, 613 local staff and 28 United Nations Volunteers. Of the additional staffing, 494 local staff and 15 United Nations Volunteers would be for the three-month disarmament and demobilization programme.

FINANCIAL ASPECTS

The costs of UNOMIL are met by assessed contributions from United Nations Member States. Estimated expenditures from the inception of UNOMIL through 30 June 1997, as at 31 December 1996, amounted to $81,488,600.

Contributions to the Trust Fund for the Implementation of the Cotonou Agreement in Liberia amounted to $24.7 million as of 31 December 1996.

UNOMIL

FACTS AND FIGURES

AUTHORIZATION

Security Council resolutions:

866 (1993) of 22 September 1993
911 (1994 of 21 April 1994
950 (1994) of 21 October 1994
972 (1995) of 13 January 1995
985 (1995) of 13 April 1995
1001 (1995) of 30 June 1995
1014 (1995) of 15 September 1995
1020 (1995) of 10 November 1995
1041 (1996) of 29 January 1996
1059 (1996) of 31 May 1996
1071 (1996) of 30 August 1996
1083 (1996) of 27 November 1996

FUNCTION

To supervise and monitor, in cooperation with the Military Observer Group (ECOMOG) of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Cotonou Peace Agreement signed by the Liberian parties on 25 July 1993. In accordance with the Agreement, ECOMOG had primary responsibility for ensuring the implementation of the Agreement's provisions; UNOMIL's role was to monitor the implementation procedures in order to verify their impartial application. Delays in the implementation of the Peace Agreement and resumed fighting among Liberian factions made it impossible to hold elections in February–March 1994, as scheduled. In the following months, a number of supplementary peace agreements, amending and clarifying the Cotonou Agreement, were negotiated. In accordance with the peace agreements, ECOWAS is to continue to play the lead role in the peace process in Liberia, while ECOMOG retains the primary responsibility for assisting in the implementation of the military provisions of the agreements. For its part, UNOMIL is to continue to observe and monitor the implementation of the peace agreements. Its main functions are to exercise its good offices to support the efforts of ECOWAS and the Liberian National Transitional Government to implement the peace agreements; investigate allegations of reported cease-fire violations; recommend measures to prevent their recurrence and report to the Secretary-General accordingly; monitor compliance with the other military provisions of the agreements and verify their impartial application, especially disarming and demobilization of combatants; and assist in the maintenance of assembly sites and in the implementation of a programme for demobilization of combatants. UNOMIL has also been requested to support humanitarian assistance activities; investigate and report to the Secretary-General on violations of human rights; assist local human rights groups in raising voluntary assistance for training and logistic support; observe and verify the election process, including legislative and presidential elections

LOCATION

Liberia

HEADQUARTERS

Monrovia

DURATION

22 September 1993 to date

STRENGTH

Authorized 22 September 1993–9 November 1995: 303 military observers, 20 military medical personnel and 45 military engineers; there was also provision for some 89 international civilian and 136 local civilian staff, and 58 United Nations Volunteers

Authorized 10 November 1995 to date: 160 military observers supported by military medical personnel; there was also provision for some 105 international civilian and 550 local civilian staff, and 120 United Nations Volunteers. In November 1996, the Secretary-General estimated need for not more than 92 military observers

Maximum (28 February 1994): 374, including 309 military observers and 65 military support personnel, supported by international civilian and local civilian staff

At 28 February 1997: 90, including 83 military observers and 7 military medical personnel, supported by international and local civilian staff

FATALITIES

None

FINANCING

Method of financing: Assessments in respect of a Special Account
Estimated expenditures: From inception of mission through 30 June 1997, as at 31 December 1996: $81,488,600 net

SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL AND HEADS OF MISSION

Trevor Livingston Gordon-Somers (Jamaica)	November 1992–November 1994
Anthony B. Nyakyi (United Republic of Tanzania)	December 1994 to date

CHIEF MILITARY OBSERVERS

Major-General Daniel Ishmael Opande (Kenya)	October 1993–May 1995
Major-General Mahmoud Talha (Egypt)	December 1995–June 1996
Colonel David Magomere (Kenya), Acting	June–December 1996
Major-General Sikander Shami (Pakistan)	December 1996 to date

CONTRIBUTORS

Austria	September 1993–November 1994	military observers
Bangladesh	October 1993 to date	medical staff
	September 1993 to date	military observers
Belgium	September–November 1993	military observers
Brazil	September–November 1993	military observers
China	October 1993 to date	military observers
Congo	September 1993–February 1994	military observers
Czech Republic	December 1993 to date	military observers
Egypt	December 1993 to date	military observers
Guinea-Bissau	September 1993–April 1996	military observers
Hungary	September 1993–January 1994	military observers
India	February 1994 to date	military observers
Jordan	October 1993–May 1996	military observers
Kenya	October 1993 to date	military observers
	March–June 1995	military support personnel
Malaysia	September 1993 to date	military observers
Nepal	November 1996 to date	military observers
Netherlands	November–December 1993	military observers
Pakistan	September 1993 to date	military observers
Poland	September 1993–April 1994	military observers
Russian Federation	September–November 1993	military observers
Slovak Republic	November 1993–October 1994	military observers
Sweden	September–November 1993	military observers
Uruguay	September 1993 to date	military observers

VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTIONS

Voluntary financing authorizations for the Trust Fund for the Implementation of the Cotonou Agreement on Liberia from inception to 31 December 1996 (paid): Denmark ($294,616); Egypt ($10,000); France ($679,612), Netherlands ($261,584); Norway ($291,056); United Kingdom ($1,000,000 for humanitarian assistance only); and United States ($22,190,400)

RESOLUTIONS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND STATEMENTS BY ITS PRESIDENT

(22 January 1991 — 27 November 1996)

SECURITY COUNCIL

Under the United Nations Charter, the Security Council has the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. All United Nations Member States have agreed to accept and carry out the Council's decisions in accordance with the Charter. The Council is composed of 15 members. Five are permanent: China, France, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America. The 10 non-permanent members are elected by the General Assembly to serve two-year terms. Since 1991, non-permanent members of the Security Council were as follows:

1991 — Austria, Belgium, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ecuador, India, Romania, Yemen, Zaire and Zimbabwe

1992 — Austria, Belgium, Cape Verde, Ecuador, Hungary, India, Japan, Morocco, Venezuela and Zimbabwe

1993 — Brazil, Cape Verde, Djibouti, Hungary, Japan, Morocco, New Zealand, Pakistan, Spain and Venezuela

1994 — Argentina, Brazil, Czech Republic, Djibouti, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Rwanda and Spain

1995 — Argentina, Botswana, Czech Republic, Germany, Honduras, Indonesia, Italy, Nigeria, Oman and Rwanda

1996 — Botswana, Chile, Egypt, Germany, Guinea-Bissau, Honduras, Indonesia, Italy, Poland and Republic of Korea

1997 — Chile, Costa Rica, Egypt, Guinea-Bissau, Japan, Kenya, Poland, Portugal, Republic of Korea and Sweden

Each member of the Security Council has one vote. Decisions on substantive matters require nine affirmative votes including the concurring votes of all five permanent members. The permanent members may abstain or not participate at all in the voting, and still satisfy the stipulation of their concurrence in the affirmative vote. A negative vote by any permanent member means the rejection of the draft resolution or proposal.

RESOLUTIONS AND STATEMENTS

Between 22 January 1991 and 27 November 1996, the Council adopted 15 resolutions directly relating to the situation in Liberia. In addition, the President of the Security Council issued 9 statements in this connection. The full text of those resolutions and statements is reproduced on the following pages.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT
22 January 1991 (S/22133)

Following consultations of the Security Council, the President made the following statement, on behalf of the Council, at its 2974th meeting on 22 January 1991, in connection with the Council's consideration of the item entitled "The situation in Liberia":

The members of the Security Council took note of the final communiqué of the first extraordinary session of the Heads of State and Government of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) issued in Bamako, Mali, on 28 November 1990.

The members of the Security Council commend the efforts made by the ECOWAS Heads of State and Government to promote peace and normalcy in Liberia.

The members of the Security Council call upon the parties to the conflict in Liberia to continue to respect the ceasefire agreement which they have signed and to cooperate fully with the ECOWAS to restore peace and normalcy in Liberia.

The members of the Security Council express appreciation to the Member States, the Secretary-General and humanitarian organizations for the humanitarian assistance to Liberia and call for additional assistance. In this connection the Council welcomes the resumption of the United Nations emergency programme in Liberia following the acceptance of a general ceasefire.

The members of the Security Council support the appeal launched by the ECOWAS Summit to the international community for increased humanitarian assistance to the people of Liberia.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT
7 May 1992 (S/23886)

Following consultations of the Security Council, the President made the following statement, on behalf of the Council, at its 3071st meeting on 7 May 1992, in connection with the Council's consideration of the item entitled "The situation in Liberia":

The members of the Security Council recalled the statement made by the President of the Council on behalf of the Council on 22 January 1991 concerning the situation in Liberia (S/22133).

The members of the Security Council noted with appreciation the final communiqué of the Informal Consultative Group Meeting of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Committee of Five on Liberia issued at Geneva on 7 April 1992 (S/23863).

The members of the Security Council commend ECOWAS and its various organs, in particular the Committee of Five, for their untiring efforts to bring the Liberian conflict to a speedy conclusion.

In this connection the members of the Security Council believe that the Yamoussoukro Accord of 30 October 1991 offers the best possible framework for a peaceful resolution of the Liberian conflict by creating the necessary conditions for free and fair elections in Liberia.

The members of the Security Council renew their call to all parties to the conflict in Liberia to respect and implement the various accords of the peace process in the framework of the ECOWAS Committee of Five, including refraining from actions which endanger the security of neighbouring States.

The members of the Security Council commend the efforts of the Members States, the Secretary-General and humanitarian organizations in providing humanitarian assistance to the victims of the civil war in Liberia and in this regard reaffirm their support for increased assistance.

RESOLUTION 788 (1992)
19 November 1992

Adopted by unanimous vote.
Prepared in the course of the Council's consultations.

The Security Council,

Recalling the statements by the President of the Council on its behalf on 22 January 1991 (S/22133) and 7 May 1992 (S/23886) on the situation in Liberia,

Reaffirming its belief that the Yamoussoukro IV Accord of 30 October 1991 (S/24815) offers the best possible framework for a peaceful resolution of the Liberian conflict by creating the necessary conditions for free and fair elections in Liberia,

Taking into account the decision of the Joint Meeting of the Standing Mediation Committee and the Committee of Five of 20 October 1992 held at Cotonou, Benin (S/24735) and the Final Communiqué of the First Meeting of the Monitoring Committee of Nine on the Liberian conflict issued at Abuja, Nigeria on 7 November 1992 (S/24812, annex),

Regretting that parties to the conflict in Liberia have not respected or implemented the various accords to date, especially the Yamoussoukro IV Accord (S/24815),

Determining that the deterioration of the situation in Liberia constitutes a threat to international peace and security, particularly in West Africa as a whole,

Recalling the provisions of Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations,

Noting that the deterioration of the situation hinders the creation of conditions conducive to the holding of free and fair elections in accordance with the Yamoussoukro IV Accord,

Welcoming the continued commitment of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) to and the efforts towards a peaceful resolution of the Liberian conflict,

Further welcoming the endorsement and support by the Organization of African Unity of these efforts,

Noting the request of 29 July 1992 from ECOWAS for the United Nations to dispatch an observer group to Liberia to verify and monitor the electoral process,

Taking note of the invitation of ECOWAS of 20 October 1992, in Cotonou, Benin, for the Secretary-General to consider, if necessary, the dispatch of a group to observe the encampment and disarmament of the warring parties,

Recognizing the need for increased humanitarian assistance,

Taking into account the request made by the Permanent Representative of Benin on behalf of ECOWAS (S/24735),

Taking also into account the letter of the Foreign Minister of Liberia endorsing the request made by the Permanent Representative of Benin on behalf of ECOWAS (S/24825),

Convinced that it is vital to find a peaceful, just and lasting solution to the conflict in Liberia,

1. Commends ECOWAS for its efforts to restore peace, security and stability in Liberia;

2. Reaffirms its belief that the Yamoussoukro IV Accord offers the best possible framework for a peaceful resolution of the Liberian conflict by creating the necessary conditions for free and fair elections in Liberia, and ***calls upon*** ECOWAS to continue its efforts to assist in the peaceful implementation of this Accord;

3. Condemns the violation of the ceasefire of 28 November 1990 by any party to the conflict;

4. Condemns the continuing armed attacks against the peacekeeping forces of ECOWAS in Liberia by one of the parties to the conflict;

5. Calls upon all parties to the conflict and all others concerned to respect strictly the provisions of international humanitarian law;

6. Calls upon all parties to the conflict to respect and implement the ceasefire and the various accords of the peace process, including the Yamoussoukro IV Accord of 30 October 1991, and the Final Communiqué of the Informal Consultative Group Meeting of ECOWAS Committee of Five on Liberia, issued at Geneva on 7 April 1992, to which they themselves have agreed;

7. Requests the Secretary-General to dispatch urgently a Special Representative to Liberia to evaluate the situation, and to report to the Security Council as soon as possible with any recommendations he may wish to make;

8. Decides, under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, that all States shall, for the purposes of establishing peace and stability in Liberia, immedi-

ately implement a general and complete embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Liberia until the Security Council decides otherwise;

9. Decides within the same framework that the embargo imposed by paragraph 8 shall not apply to weapons and military equipment destined for the sole use of the peacekeeping forces of ECOWAS in Liberia, subject to any review that may be required in conformity with the report of the Secretary-General;

10. Requests all States to respect the measures established by ECOWAS to bring about a peaceful solution to the conflict in Liberia;

11. Calls on Member States to exercise self-restraint in their relations with all parties to the Liberian conflict and to refrain from taking any action that would be inimical to the peace process;

12. Commends the efforts of Member States, the United Nations system and humanitarian organizations in providing humanitarian assistance to the victims of the conflict in Liberia, and in this regard ***reaffirms*** its support for increased humanitarian assistance;

13. Requests the Secretary-General to submit a report on the implementation of this resolution as soon as possible;

14. Decides to remain seized of the matter.

RESOLUTION 813 (1993)

26 March 1993

Adopted, as orally revised in its provisional form, by unanimous vote.
Prepared in the course of the Council's consultations.

The Security Council,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General on the question of Liberia (S/25402),

Recalling its resolution 788 (1992) of 19 November 1992,

Further recalling the statements by the President of the Council on its behalf on 22 January 1991 (S/22133) and 7 May 1992 (S/23886) on the situation in Liberia,

Reaffirming its belief that the Yamoussoukro IV Accord of 30 October 1991 (S/24815) offers the best possible framework for a peaceful resolution of the Liberian conflict by creating the necessary climate and conditions for free and fair elections in Liberia,

Deploring that parties to the conflict in Liberia have not respected or implemented the various accords to date, especially the Yamoussoukro IV Accord,

Noting that the continuing breach of earlier accords hinders the creation of a climate and conditions conducive to the holding of free and fair elections in accordance with the Yamoussoukro IV Accord,

Recognizing the need for increased humanitarian assistance,

Welcoming the continued commitment of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) to and the efforts towards a peaceful resolution of the Liberian conflict,

Further welcoming the endorsement and support by the Organization of African Unity (OAU) of these efforts,

Recalling the provisions of Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations,

Determining that the deterioration of the situation in Liberia constitutes a threat to international peace and security, particularly in this region of West Africa,

1. Approves the report of the Secretary-General on the question of Liberia (S/25402);

2. Commends ECOWAS for its efforts to restore peace, security and stability in Liberia;

3. Commends the OAU for its efforts in support of the peace process in Liberia;

4. Reaffirms its belief that the Yamoussoukro IV Accord offers the best possible framework for a peaceful resolution of the Liberian conflict by creating the necessary conditions for free and fair elections in Liberia, and ***encourages*** ECOWAS to continue its efforts to assist in the peaceful implementation of this Accord;

5. Condemns the violation of the ceasefire of 28 November 1990 by any party to the conflict;

6. Condemns the continuing armed attacks against the peacekeeping forces of ECOWAS in Liberia by one of the parties to the conflict;

7. Reiterates its call upon all parties to respect and implement the ceasefire and the various accords of the peace process, including the Yamoussoukro IV Accord of 30 October 1991, and the Final Communiqué of the Informal Consultative Group Meeting of the ECOWAS Committee of Five in Liberia, issued at Geneva on 7 April 1992, to which they themselves have agreed;

8. Welcomes the Secretary-General's appointment of Mr. Trevor Gordon-Somers as his Special Representative for Liberia;

9. Calls upon all States strictly to abide by and comply with the general and complete embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Liberia imposed by resolution 788 (1992) under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter;

10. Demands that all parties fully cooperate with the Secretary-General of the United Nations and ECOWAS with a view to ensuring the full and prompt implementation of the Yamoussoukro IV Accord of 30 October 1991;

11. Declares its readiness to consider appropriate measures in support of ECOWAS if any party is unwilling to cooperate in implementation of the provisions of the Yamoussoukro Accords, in particular the encampment and disarmament provisions;

12. Reiterates its call on Member States to exercise self-restraint in their relations with all parties to the Liberian conflict, in particular to refrain from providing any military assistance to any of the parties and also to refrain from taking any action that would be inimical to the peace process;

13. Reaffirms that the embargo imposed by resolution 788 (1992) shall not apply to weapons, military equipment and military assistance destined for the sole use of the peacekeeping forces of ECOWAS in Liberia;

14. Further commends the efforts of Member States, the United Nations system and humanitarian organizations in providing humanitarian assistance to the victims of the conflict in Liberia, and in this regard ***reaffirms*** its support for increased humanitarian assistance;

15. Demands that the parties concerned refrain from any action that will impede or obstruct the delivery of humanitarian assistance and ***calls upon*** them to ensure the safety of all personnel involved in international humanitarian assistance;

16. Reiterates its call upon all parties to the conflict and all others concerned to respect strictly the provisions of international humanitarian law;

17. Requests the Secretary-General, in consultation with ECOWAS, to consider the possibility of convening a meeting of the President of the Interim Government of National Unity and the warring factions, after thorough and detailed groundwork, to restate their commitment to the implementation of the Yamoussoukro IV Accord within an agreed timetable;

18. Requests the Secretary-General to discuss with ECOWAS and the parties concerned the contribution which the United Nations could make in support of the implementation of the Yamoussoukro IV Accord, including the deployment of United Nations observers;

19. Requests the Secretary-General to submit a report on the implementation of this resolution as soon as possible;

20. Decides to remain seized of the matter.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

9 June 1993 (S/25918)

Following consultations with the members of the Security Council, the President of the Council made the following statement, on behalf of the Council, at its 3233rd meeting, on 9 June 1993, in connection with the Council's consideration of the item entitled "The situation in Liberia":

The Security Council is shocked and saddened by the senseless killing of innocent civilians which occurred near Harbel, Liberia, on the morning of 6 June 1993.

It strongly condemns this massacre of innocent displaced persons, including women and children, which comes at a time when the Secretary-General's Special Representative is working diligently, in furtherance of the efforts of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), on the basis of the Yamoussoukro IV Accord, to arrange a meeting of the warring factions in order to bring the three-year civil war to a peaceful end.

The Security Council urges all parties to the conflict to respect the rights of the civilian population and take all necessary measures to secure their safety.

The Security Council requests the Secretary-General to commence immediately a thorough and full investigation of the massacre, including any allegations as to the perpetrators whoever they may be, and report to it as soon as possible. It warns that those found responsible for such serious violations of international humanitarian law will be held accountable for such crimes and demands that the leaders of any faction responsible for such acts effectively control their forces and take decisive steps to ensure that such deplorable tragedies do not happen again.

The Council remains firmly supportive of the efforts of ECOWAS and the Secretary-General to bring peace to Liberia. It urges all Liberian factions and regional leaders to give their full cooperation to current efforts by Special Representative Trevor Gordon-Somers to assist in the implementation of the Yamoussoukro IV Accord calling, *inter alia*, for a ceasefire, encampment, disarmament and democratic elections.

RESOLUTION 856 (1993)
10 August 1993

Adopted by unanimous vote.
Prepared in the course of the Council's consultations.

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolution 813 (1993) of 26 March 1993,

Welcoming the signing under the auspices of ECOWAS, on 25 July 1993, at Cotonou, Benin, of a Peace Agreement between the Interim Government of National Unity of Liberia (IGNU), the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) and the United Liberation Movement for Democracy (ULIMO) (S/26272),

Considering that the signing of the Peace Agreement constitutes a major achievement and an important contribution to the restoration of peace and security in Liberia and in this region of West Africa, and creates the opportunity to bring an end to the conflict,

Taking note of the report of the Secretary-General dated 3 August 1993 (S/26200),

1. Welcomes the decision of the Secretary-General to send a technical team to Liberia to gather and evaluate information relevant to the proposed establishment of a United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL);

2. Approves the dispatch to Liberia as soon as possible of an advance team of thirty military observers to participate in the work of the Joint Ceasefire Monitoring Committee, including in particular to monitor, investigate and report ceasefire violations in conjunction with the said Committee, the mandate of said team to expire within three months;

3. Looks forward to the report of the Secretary-General on the proposed establishment of UNOMIL, including in particular a detailed estimate of the cost and scope of this operation, a time-frame for its implementation, the projected conclusion of this operation, how to ensure coordination between UNOMIL and the peacekeeping forces of ECOWAS and their respective roles and responsibilities;

4. Calls upon all parties to the conflict to respect and implement the ceasefire provided for in the Peace Agreement and to cooperate fully with the advance mission and ensure the safety of all United Nations personnel and all other peacekeeping and humanitarian personnel within Liberia;

5. Urges the conclusion at the earliest possible stage of a status of mission agreement;

6. Commends ECOWAS for its efforts to restore peace, security and stability in Liberia;

7. Commends the Organization of African Unity (OAU) for its efforts in support of the peace process in Liberia;

8. Decides to remain actively seized of this matter.

RESOLUTION 866 (1993)

22 September 1993

Adopted, as orally revised in its provisional form, by unanimous vote.
Prepared in the course of the Council's consultations.

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolutions 813 (1993) of 26 March 1993 and 856 (1993) of 10 August 1993,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General (S/26422 and Add.1) dated 9 September 1993 on the proposed establishment of the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL),

Noting that the Peace Agreement signed by the three Liberian parties in Cotonou on 25 July 1993 calls on the United Nations and the Military Observer Group (ECOMOG) of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) to assist in the implementation of the Agreement,

Emphasizing as noted in the Secretary-General's report of 4 August 1993 (S/26200), that the Peace Agreement assigns ECOMOG the primary responsibility of supervising the implementation of the military provisions of the Agreement and envisages that the United Nations role shall be to monitor and verify this process,

Noting that this would be the first peacekeeping mission undertaken by the United Nations in cooperation with a peacekeeping mission already set up by another organization, in this case ECOWAS,

Recognizing that United Nations involvement would contribute significantly to the effective implementation of the Peace Agreement and would serve to underline the international community's commitment to conflict resolution in Liberia,

Commending ECOWAS for its continuing efforts to restore peace, security and stability in Liberia,

Commending also the efforts of the Organization of African Unity in support of the peace process in Liberia,

Stressing the importance of full cooperation and close coordination between UNOMIL and ECOMOG in the implementation of their respective mandates,

Taking note of the deployment of an advance team of United Nations military observers to Liberia as authorized under resolution 856 (1993),

Welcoming the establishment of the Joint CeaseFire Monitoring Committee (JCMC) composed of the three Liberian parties, ECOMOG and the United Nations,

Welcoming also the formation in Cotonou on 27 August 1993 of the five-member Council of State representing all three Liberian parties, which, in accordance with the Peace Agreement, shall be installed concomitantly with the commencement of the disarmament process and shall be responsible for the day-to-day operation of the transitional government,

Noting that the Peace Agreement calls for legislative and presidential elections to take place approximately seven months after the signing of the Peace Agreement,

1. Welcomes the report of the Secretary-General dated 9 September 1993 (S/26422) on the proposed establishment of UNOMIL;

2. Decides to establish UNOMIL under its authority and under the direction of the Secretary-General through his Special Representative for a period of seven months, subject to the proviso that it will continue beyond 16 December 1993 only upon a review by the Council based on a report from the Secretary-General on whether or not substantive progress has been made towards the implementation of the Peace Agreement and other measures aimed at establishing a lasting peace;

3. Decides that UNOMIL shall comprise military observers as well as medical, engineering, communications, transportation and electoral components, in the numbers indicated in the Secretary-General's report,

together with minimal staff necessary to support it, and shall have the following mandate:

(a) To receive and investigate all reports on alleged incidents of violations of the ceasefire agreement and, if the violation cannot be corrected, to report its findings to the Violations Committee established pursuant to the Peace Agreement and to the Secretary-General;

(b) To monitor compliance with other elements of the Peace Agreement, including at points on Liberia's borders with Sierra Leone and other neighbouring countries, and to verify its impartial application, and in particular to assist in the monitoring of compliance with the embargo on delivery of arms and military equipment to Liberia and the cantonment, disarmament and demobilization of combatants;

(c) To observe and verify the election process, including the legislative and presidential elections to be held in accordance with the provisions of the Peace Agreement;

(d) To assist, as appropriate, in the coordination of humanitarian assistance activities in the field in conjunction with the existing United Nations humanitarian relief operation;

(e) To develop a plan and assess financial requirements for the demobilization of combatants;

(f) To report on any major violations of international humanitarian law to the Secretary-General;

(g) To train ECOMOG engineers in mine clearance and, in cooperation with ECOMOG, coordinate the identification of mines and assist in the clearance of mines and unexploded bombs;

(h) Without participation in enforcement operations, to coordinate with ECOMOG in the discharge of ECOMOG's separate responsibilities both formally, through the Violations Committee, and informally;

4. Welcomes the Secretary-General's intention to conclude with the Chairman of ECOWAS an agreement defining, before deployment of UNOMIL, the roles and responsibilities of UNOMIL and ECOWAS in the implementation of the Peace Agreement, in accordance with the concept of operations outlined in Chapter IV of the Secretary-General's report (S/26422), and ***requests*** the Secretary-General to keep the Council informed on the progress and outcome of the negotiations leading thereto;

5. Encourages African States to provide the additional troops requested from them by ECOWAS for ECOMOG;

6. Welcomes the steps taken by the Secretary-General to establish a Trust Fund, which would facilitate the sending of reinforcements by African States to ECOMOG, assist in supporting troops of participating ECOMOG countries and also assist in mine-clearing, humanitarian and development activities, as well as the electoral process, and ***calls on*** Member States to support the peace process in Liberia by contributing to the Trust Fund;

7. Urges the Liberian parties to commence the encampment, disarmament and demobilization process without delay;

8. Welcomes the decision to establish the transitional government and urges also the Liberian parties to begin the exercise of that government's responsibilities concomitantly with the process described in paragraph 7 above and consistent with the Peace Agreement;

9. Calls on the transitional government to conclude expeditiously, and no later than 60 days after its installation, a Status of Mission Agreement with the United Nations to facilitate the full deployment of UNOMIL;

10. Urges the Liberian parties to finalize the composition of the Elections Commission so that it can promptly undertake the necessary preparations for legislative and presidential elections by March 1994, at the latest, in accordance with the timetable foreseen in the Peace Agreement;

11. Calls on the Liberian parties to cooperate fully in the safe delivery of humanitarian assistance to all parts of the country by the most direct routes, in accordance with the Peace Agreement;

12. Welcomes ECOMOG's stated commitment to ensure the safety of UNOMIL observers and civilian

staff and ***urges*** the Liberian parties to take all necessary measures to ensure the security and safety of UNOMIL personnel, as well as of the personnel involved in relief operations, and strictly to abide by applicable rules of international humanitarian law;

13. Requests the Secretary-General to submit progress reports to the Council on the implementation of the present resolution by 16 December 1993 and by 16 February 1994;

14. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT
25 February 1994 (S/PRST/1994/9)

At the 3339th meeting of the Security Council, held on 25 February 1994, in connection with the Council's consideration of the item "The situation in Liberia", the President of the Security Council made the following statement on behalf of the Council:

The Security Council takes note of the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Liberia (S/1994/168 and Add.1).

The Council welcomes the agreement reached at Monrovia contained in the communiqué of 15 February 1994 (S/1994/187, annex), in which the parties once again reaffirmed their commitment to the Cotonou Agreement as the basis for a lasting political settlement to the Liberian conflict. The Council calls upon the parties to uphold strictly the timetable outlined in that communiqué: the commencement of disarmament and the installation of a transitional government on 7 March 1994, and the holding of free and fair general elections on 7 September 1994. The Council urges the parties to resolve quickly their differences on the disposition of the four remaining Cabinet posts.

The Council, however, wishes to express its concern about the recent upsurge in violence in Liberia and the related disruption of humanitarian relief shipments, to which the rise of new military groups and problems of military indiscipline among the existing factions have contributed. It deplores the consequent loss of life, destruction of property and the increased number of people that have since been displaced. The Council calls on all Liberian parties to adhere strictly to the ceasefire agreement and to cooperate fully with the international relief efforts in order to put an end to the obstacles periodically impeding the delivery of humanitarian aid.

The Council is gravely concerned at the delays in implementing the commitments entered into by the parties under the Cotonou Agreement, in particular the commencement of disarmament and the installation of the Liberian National Transitional Government.

The Council reminds the parties that they themselves bear ultimate responsibility for the successful implementation of the Cotonou Agreement. The Liberian parties should bear in mind that the support of the international community and of the Security Council will not continue in the absence of tangible progress towards full and prompt implementation of the Agreement, in particular, the revised timetable. These delays jeopardize both the viability of the Cotonou Agreement itself and the ability of UNOMIL to fulfil its mandate.

The Council looks forward to the proposed meeting of ECOWAS Foreign Ministers in March and to continued progress on the ground. The Council underlines the importance of adhering to the timetable and will review the situation again in March 1994 to evaluate what progress has been made.

The Council underlines the importance of disarmament to the successful implementation of the Cotonou Agreement and in this context, notes the central role in the disarmament process given to ECOMOG under the Agreement.

The Council, therefore, takes note of the Secretary-General's observation that the ECOMOG forces face considerable financial and logistical difficulties and strongly supports his call on Member States to assist the peace process by providing the necessary financial and logistical resources to ECOMOG to enable it to meet its obligations under the Cotonou Agreement. The Council supports the Secretary-General's appeal to all Member States which have not already done so to contribute generously to the United Nations Trust Fund for Liberia. The Council concurs with the

Secretary-General that UNOMIL's ability to carry out its mandate depends on the capacity of ECOMOG to discharge its responsibilities.

The Council commends ECOWAS and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) for their continued efforts to restore peace, security and stability in Liberia. The Council notes with appreciation that the ECOMOG force has now been expanded pursuant to resolution 866 (1993) and commends all countries which have contributed troops and resources to ECOMOG since its inception in 1990.

The Council commends also the efforts of Member States and humanitarian organizations in providing humanitarian assistance to the victims of the Liberian civil war. The anticipated reunification of the country by 7 March 1994 and the ensuring repatriation of Liberian refugees will accelerate the demand for additional humanitarian relief, and in this regard the Council urgently appeals to Member States and humanitarian organizations to increase their assistance to Liberia.

The Council reaffirms its appreciation for the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative towards the establishment of a lasting peace in Liberia.

RESOLUTION 911 (1994)

21 April 1994

Adopted, as orally revised in its provisional form, by unanimous vote.

Prepared in the course of the Council's consultations.

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolutions 813 (1993) of 26 March 1993, 856 (1993) of 10 August 1993 and 866 (1993) of 22 September 1993,

Having considered the reports of the Secretary-General dated 16 December 1993 (S/26868), 16 February 1994 (S/1994/168) and 18 April 1994 (S/1994/463) on the activities of the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL),

Welcoming the progress made towards establishing the Liberian National Transitional Government but concerned about subsequent delays in implementing the Cotonou Peace Agreement,

Expressing its concern over renewed fighting between the Liberian parties and the negative impact that this fighting has had on the disarmament process, the effort to provide humanitarian relief, and the plight of displaced persons,

Commending the positive role of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in their efforts to help restore peace, security and stability in Liberia and ***urging*** them to continue their efforts with the aim of assisting the Liberian parties to complete the process of political settlement in the country,

Recognizing, as noted in the Secretary-General's report of 4 August 1993 (S/26200), that the Peace Agreement assigns the ECOWAS Ceasefire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) to assist in the implementation of the Agreement,

Commending those African States that have contributed troops to ECOMOG, and those Member States that have contributed to the Trust Fund or by providing other assistance in support of the troops,

Welcoming the close cooperation between UNOMIL and ECOMOG and ***stressing*** the importance of continued full cooperation and coordination between them in the implementation of their respective tasks,

Noting that the revised timetable of the Peace Agreement established on 15 February 1994 in Monrovia calls for legislative and presidential elections to take place by 7 September 1994,

1. Welcomes the Secretary-General's report dated 18 April 1994 (S/1994/463) and the progress the parties have made towards the implementation of the Peace Agreement and other measures aimed at establishing a lasting peace;

2. Decides to extend the mandate of UNOMIL until 22 October 1994, on the understanding that the Security Council will, by 18 May 1994, review the situation in Liberia, including the role played by UNOMIL in that country, based on a report by the Secretary-General on whether or not the Council of State of the Liberian National Transitional Govern-

ment has been fully installed, and on whether there has been substantial progress in disarmament and in implementing the peace process;

3. Decides further that the Council will again review the situation in Liberia, including the role played by UNOMIL, on or before 30 June 1994, on the basis of a report of the Secretary-General, such review to include consideration of whether sufficient progress has been made in implementing the revised timetable of the Peace Agreement to warrant continued UNOMIL involvement, in particular, the effective operation of the Liberian National Transitional Government, progress in carrying out disarmament and demobilization, and preparations for the holding of elections on 7 September 1994;

4. Notes that if the Council considers, during either of the above reviews, that progress has been insufficient, it may request the Secretary-General to prepare options regarding UNOMIL's mandate and continued operations;

5. Urges all Liberian parties to cease hostilities immediately and to cooperate with ECOMOG forces to complete the disarmament process expeditiously;

6. Calls on the Liberian parties as an urgent priority to complete installation, within the time-frame established in paragraph 2 above, of the Liberian National Transitional Government, especially the seating of the full cabinet and the national assembly, so that a unified civil administration of the country can be established and other appropriate arrangements completed so that national elections may be held as scheduled on 7 September 1994;

7. Calls again on the Liberian parties to cooperate fully in the safe delivery of humanitarian assistance to all parts of the country by the most direct routes, in accordance with the Peace Agreement;

8. Welcomes ECOMOG's ongoing efforts in furthering the peace process in Liberia and its commitment to ensure the safety of UNOMIL observers and civilian staff and urges the Liberian parties to continue to take all necessary measures to ensure the security and safety of UNOMIL personnel, as well as of the personnel involved in relief operations, and strictly to abide by applicable rules of international humanitarian law;

9. Encourages Member States to provide support for the peace process in Liberia by contributing to the Trust Fund or by providing other assistance to facilitate the sending of reinforcements by African States to ECOMOG, assist in supporting troops of participating ECOMOG countries and also assist in humanitarian and development activities, as well as the electoral process;

10. Commends the efforts made by Member States and humanitarian organizations to provide emergency humanitarian assistance;

11. Welcomes the continued efforts by the Secretary-General and his Special Representative to promote and facilitate dialogue among all parties concerned;

12. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT
23 May 1994 (S/PRST/1994/25)

At the 3378th meeting of the Security Council, held on 23 May 1994, in connection with the Council's consideration of the item "The situation in Liberia", the President of the Security Council made the following statement on behalf of the members:

The Security Council welcomes the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Liberia dated 18 May 1994 (S/1994/588).

In this connection, the Council notes with satisfaction the full installation of the Council of State of the Liberian National Transitional Government (LNTG), as well as indications that the transitional government has begun to assume its responsibilities and functions throughout the country.

The Council commends the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) and the ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) for their contributions to the demobilization and disarmament efforts in Liberia, a critical requirement of the Cotonou Agreement.

The Council notes with concern, however, the continued fighting among and within factions. Political differences and renewed violence among and within certain factions have caused the disarmament process to come to a virtual halt. The ongoing hostilities make it very difficult for UNOMIL to accomplish critical elements of its mandate and prevent the peacekeeping troops of the CeaseFire Monitoring Group of the Economic Community of West Africa States (ECOMOG) from carrying out their functions regarding disarmament and demobilization, a situation which directly threatens the ability of the parties to maintain the timetable outlined in the Cotonou Agreement and the communiqué of 15 February 1994.

In the light of these developments, the Council calls upon the parties to resolve their differences within the forum of the transitional government and the Cotonou Agreement, to end any hostilities and to accelerate the pace of disarmament with the aim of bringing it to a successful conclusion, all of which are crucial to creating suitable conditions for elections. The Council wishes to remind the parties of the importance it attaches to the holding of those elections on 7 September 1994.

The Council reaffirms its intention to review the situation in Liberia again on or before 30 June 1994 including the role played by UNOMIL, such review to include whether sufficient progress has been made in implementing the revised timetable of the Peace Agreement to warrant continued UNOMIL involvement, in particular, the effective operation of the Liberian National Transitional Government, progress in carrying out disarmament and demobilization, and preparations for the holding of elections on 7 September 1994. In accordance with the terms of its resolution 911 of 21 April 1994, the Council requests the Secretary-General to prepare options by 30 June 1994 regarding the future implementation of UNOMIL's mandate and its continued operations.

The Council reminds the parties that the ultimate responsibility for the success of the peace process in Liberia rests with them and with the Liberian people. It urges them to respect fully the terms of the Cotonou Agreement and reaffirms its expectation that the parties will continue to make every effort to achieve a lasting peace in Liberia.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT
13 July 1994 (S/PRST/1994/33)

At the 3404th meeting of the Security Council, held on 13 July 1994, in connection with the Council's consideration of the item entitled "The situation in Liberia", the President of the Security Council made the following statement on behalf of the Council:

The Security Council welcomes the report of the Secretary-General on Liberia dated 24 June 1994 (S/1994/760). On the basis of this report, as well as the oral briefing provided by the Secretary-General's Special Representative for Liberia, the Council has carried out a review of the situation in Liberia, including the role played by the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) as called for in resolution 911 (1994).

In this context, the Council notes that, since the interim review in May 1994, there has been limited progress in the peace process and that the Liberian National Transitional Government (LNTG) has been unable to extend its authority effectively outside the Monrovia area. The Council notes further with concern that preparations for national elections have been hampered by the continued fighting and the consequent virtual halt of the disarmament process. It underscores that until the disarmament process is substantially accomplished the holding of free and fair elections will not be possible. It reiterates, nevertheless, the need to make urgent preparations to enable the timely holding of free and fair elections. To this end, a substantial acceleration of the disarmament process is essential. It notes that continued delay may have an adverse effect on international participation in the Liberian peace process.

The Council, therefore, calls on the LNTG, in cooperation with the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and the Organization of African Unity, with the support of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General and UNOMIL as necessary, to convene a meeting of the Liberian factions con-

cerned to address the problems affecting disarmament. The Council considers that the objectives of such a meeting should be to agree on a realistic plan to resume disarmament and to set a target date for its completion. The Council calls on the LNTG to convene the meeting as soon as possible, at the latest by 31 July 1994. The Council stresses the importance it places on the Liberian factions concerned attending such a meeting.

The Council further calls upon all factions in Liberia to demonstrate the resolve and commitment necessary to achieve national reconciliation.

The Council expresses its concern about the increase in military activities being carried out in violation of the general ceasefire and the consequent large-scale displacement of persons and atrocities which have been committed throughout the country. The Council condemns all those who initiate fighting and who violate international humanitarian law.

The Council strongly deplores attacks on and the abduction and harassment of United Nations and ECOWAS Ceasefire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) personnel in Liberia, as well as looting of United Nations and ECOMOG property. It demands that such hostile acts cease forthwith.

The Council urges the Liberian parties to take all necessary measures to ensure the security and safety of UNOMIL and ECOMOG personnel, as well as of the personnel involved in relief operations, and strictly to abide by the applicable rules of international humanitarian law. It demands that all factions in Liberia extend full cooperation to organizations engaged in the delivery of humanitarian assistance.

The Council commends the positive role of ECOWAS in its continued efforts to facilitate peace and security in Liberia, including through the provision of ECOMOG troops. It welcomes the continued close cooperation between ECOMOG and UNOMIL.

The Council also commends other African States that have provided troops to ECOMOG and those Member States that have contributed to the trust fund established pursuant to paragraph 6 of resolution 866 (1993) or provided other assistance in support of the troops. However, the Council expresses its concern that sufficient financial and other support for the ECOMOG troops has not yet been forthcoming despite the importance of their continued presence in the Liberian peace process. The Council calls on all Member States urgently to consider providing financial or material support either through the United Nations trust fund or on a bilateral basis to enable ECOMOG to fulfil its responsibilities in accordance with the Cotonou Agreement.

The Council commends the Secretary-General for the priority given to reporting on violations of international humanitarian law and other atrocities and encourages continued attention to these aspects of the situation in Liberia.

The Council requests the Secretary-General to ensure that all information on ceasefire and arms embargo violations obtained by UNOMIL, in pursuit of its mandate, is made promptly available to the Security Council and publicized more widely as appropriate.

The Council expresses concern at problems encountered by the LNTG in extending its authority outside the Monrovia area, and requests the Secretary-General to explore, in consultation with ECOWAS, whether there are any steps which might be taken to facilitate LNTG's efforts in this regard.

The Council urges ECOWAS to continue its efforts to help the Liberian parties make substantial progress towards a political settlement in the country.

The Council requests the Secretary-General to report on the situation in Liberia by 2 September 1994 and to consider in that report whether the meeting on disarmament has resulted in a realistic plan for disarmament and whether implementation of such a plan has begun. The report should also provide options for the size and mandate of UNOMIL that reflect the outcome of the meeting and the progress in implementing the disarmament plan.

The Council will remain actively seized of the matter.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

13 September 1994 (S/PRST/1994/53)

At the 3424th meeting of the Security Council, held on 13 September 1994, in connection with the Council's consideration of the item entitled "The situation in Liberia", the President of the Security Council made the following statement on behalf of the Council:

The Security Council strongly condemns the detention and mistreatment of 43 unarmed military observers of the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) and 6 non-governmental organizations (NGO) staff, which are in flagrant violation of international humanitarian law as well as of the Cotonou Agreement. It demands that those responsible release immediately the detained personnel and return their property and that of UNOMIL and humanitarian organizations. It urges all parties to observe strictly the Cotonou Agreement and to ensure the safety, security and freedom of movement of UNOMIL, other United Nations personnel and those of humanitarian organizations.

The Security Council requests the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) to ensure that the Economic Community Military Observer Group (ECOMOG) continues to extend protection to the extent possible to UNOMIL personnel, in accordance with the exchange of letters of 7 October 1993 between the Secretary-General and the Chairman of ECOWAS defining the respective roles and responsibilities of the two missions in Liberia. It calls upon the international community to assist ECOWAS with the necessary resources to enable ECOMOG to fulfil its mandate effectively throughout Liberia.

The Security Council is following closely the situation in Liberia and in this connection welcomes the ongoing efforts, in particular those of the President of Ghana as Chairman of ECOWAS, to secure the release of the detained personnel.

RESOLUTION 950 (1994)

21 October 1994

Adopted by unanimous vote.
Prepared in the course of the Council's consultations.

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolutions 788 (1992) of 19 November 1992, 813 (1993) of 26 March 1993, 856 (1993) of 10 August 1993, 866 (1993) of 22 September 1993 and 911 (1994) of 21 April 1994,

Having considered the reports of the Secretary-General dated 18 May 1994 (S/1994/588), 24 June 1994 (S/1994/760), 26 August 1994 (S/1994/ 1006) and 14 October 1994 (S/1994/1167) on the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL),

Commending the positive role of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in its continuing efforts to restore peace, security and stability in Liberia,

Commending also the initiative taken by the President of Ghana, in his capacity as current Chairman of ECOWAS, to reactivate the peace process and find a durable solution to the conflict,

Noting the recommendations of the Liberian National Conference and ***stressing*** the importance it attaches to strengthening the authority of the Liberian National Transitional Government (LNTG) in administering the country,

Commending those African States that have contributed troops to ECOWAS's Ceasefire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), and those Member States that have contributed to the Trust Fund or by providing other assistance in support of ECOMOG,

Commending also ECOMOG for its role in quelling an attempted *coup d'etat* against the LNTG in Monrovia,

Deeply concerned at the breakdown in the ceasefire, the severe deterioration in the security situation and the impact this is having on the civilian population of Liberia, particularly in rural areas, as well as on the ability of humanitarian agencies to provide emergency relief,

Expressing grave concern at the level of factional and ethnic warfare now prevailing in much of Liberia,

Stressing the importance it attaches to the achievement of an effective ceasefire as a necessary pre-con-

dition for progress in the peace process and the holding of national elections,

*1. **Welcomes*** the report of the Secretary-General dated 14 October 1994, and his intention to send a high-level mission to consult with ECOWAS member States on how the international community can best continue to assist the peace process in Liberia;

*2. **Decides*** to extend the mandate of UNOMIL until 13 January 1995;

*3. **Recognizes*** that circumstances on the ground warranted the Secretary-General's decision to reduce the strength of UNOMIL, and ***considers*** that any decision to return it to the authorized level will depend on consideration by the Security Council of a further report from the Secretary-General reflecting a real improvement in the situation on the ground, in particular the security situation;

*4. **Calls on*** all factions in Liberia to cease hostilities immediately and to agree to a timetable for disengagement of forces, disarmament and demobilization;

*5. **Further calls on*** the LNTG and all Liberians to seek political accommodation and national reconciliation and to work with the Chairman of ECOWAS and with the Special Representative of the Secretary-General to achieve a durable settlement;

*6. **Calls once again*** upon all States strictly to abide by and comply with the general and complete embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Liberia imposed by resolution 788 (1992) under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter;

*7. **Condemns*** the widespread killings of civilians and other violations of international humanitarian law by the factions in Liberia, and the detention and maltreatment of UNOMIL observers, ECOMOG soldiers, humanitarian relief workers and other international personnel and ***demands*** that all the factions strictly abide by applicable rules of international humanitarian law;

*8. **Demands*** that all factions in Liberia strictly respect the status of ECOMOG and UNOMIL personnel, and those of other international organizations and humanitarian relief agencies working in Liberia, refrain from any acts of violence, abuse or intimidation against them and return forthwith equipment seized from them;

*9. **Urges*** Member States to provide support for the peace process in Liberia through the United Nations Trust Fund for Liberia, in order to enable ECOMOG to fulfil its mandate;

*10. **Commends*** the efforts of Member States and humanitarian organizations to provide emergency humanitarian assistance, including to Liberian refugees in neighbouring countries, and ***calls on*** all factions in Liberia to cooperate fully in creating the conditions necessary for the delivery of humanitarian assistance to all in need in Liberia;

*11. **Requests*** the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council well in advance of the end of the current mandate period with recommendations as to the future role of UNOMIL, in the light of developments in the peace process and in the situation on the ground and the recommendations of his high-level mission;

*12. **Decides*** to remain actively seized of the matter.

RESOLUTION 972 (1995)

13 January 1995

Adopted by unanimous vote.
Prepared in the course of the Council's consultations.

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolutions 788 (1992) of 19 November 1992, 813 (1993) of 26 March 1993, 856 (1993) of 10 August 1993, 866 (1993) of 22 September 1993 and 911 (1994) of 21 April 1994 and 950 (1994) of 21 October 1994,

Having considered the reports of the Secretary-General dated 18 May 1994 (S/1994/588), 24 June 1994 (S/1994/760), 26 August 1994 (S/1994/ 1006), 14 October 1994 (S/1994/1167) and 6 January 1995 (S/1995/9) on the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL),

Viewing with appreciation the diplomatic achievement of the current chairman of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), President

Jerry Rawlings of Ghana, in bringing together the factions leaders of Liberia to sign the Accra Agreement, (S/1995/7) on 21 December 1994, which builds upon the Yamoussoukro, Cotonou and Akosombo agreements and includes a timetable for the implementation of its provisions,

Commending once again the efforts of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), which has played a crucial role in the search for a peaceful solution to the Liberian conflict,

Commending also those African States that have contributed troops to the ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), and those Member States that have provided assistance in support of the peace negotiations and the peacekeeping forces, including contributions to the Trust Fund for Liberia,

Expressing the hope that a summit of the ECOWAS States will be convened at the earliest possible date to harmonize their policies on Liberia and promote implementation of the Accra Agreement, including tightening the application of the arms embargo,

Taking note with concern that there has been a continuing inflow of arms in Liberia in violation of the existing arms embargo, which has further destabilized the situation in Liberia,

Deeply concerned that the humanitarian situation in Liberia has worsened due to the lack of security in the country and the resulting inability of national and international relief organizations to function effectively,

Calling on the Liberian leaders and factions to demonstrate their commitment to the peace process by maintaining the ceasefire, which came into effect on 28 December 1994, recommitting themselves to the disarmament process and implementing without delay all provisions of the Accra Agreement,

1. Welcomes the report of the Secretary-General dated 6 January 1995;

2. Decides to extend the mandate of UNOMIL until 13 April 1995;

3. Expresses deep concern at the failure of the Liberian parties so far to reach agreement on the composition of the Council of State as stipulated in the Accra Agreement at the recent talks in Accra and ***calls upon*** them to work together to implement the Accra Agreement by upholding the ceasefire, resuming disarmament and demobilization of combatants and implementing the other relevant aspects of the agreement in accordance with the timetable, including the prompt installation of the New Council of State;

4. Requests that the Secretary-General base any decision to return UNOMIL and its civilian staff to the level authorized under resolution 866 (1993) on the existence of an effective ceasefire and on the ability of UNOMIL to carry out its mandate;

5. Further requests that the Secretary-General report to the Security Council on the situation in Liberia, on the role of UNOMIL and of ECOMOG, including on the needs of ECOWAS States to maintain their troops in ECOMOG, on or before 1 March 1995;

6. Reminds all Member States of their obligation strictly to abide by and comply with the embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Liberia imposed by resolution 788 (1992);

7. Demands once more, that all factions in Liberia strictly respect the status of ECOMOG and UNOMIL personnel, and those of organizations and personnel delivering humanitarian assistance throughout Liberia and further demands that these factions facilitate such deliveries and that they strictly abide by applicable rules of international humanitarian law;

8. Urges Member States to provide support for the peace process in Liberia by contributing to the United Nations Trust Fund for Liberia, and by providing financial, logistical and other assistance in support of the troops participating in ECOMOG in order to enable ECOMOG to deploy fully and to carry out its mandate, particularly with respect to encampment and disarmament of the Liberian factions;

9. Requests, in this regard, the Secretary-General to continue his efforts to obtain financial and logistical resources from Member States;

10. Commends the efforts made by Member States and humanitarian organizations to provide emergency humanitarian assistance and especially the efforts of neighbouring countries to assist Liberian refugees;

11. Commends also the ongoing efforts of ECOWAS to further the Liberian peace process, and the commitment of ECOMOG to ensure the safety of UNOMIL military observers and civilian staff;

12. Welcomes the tireless efforts by the Secretary-General and his Special Representative to promote the cause of peace in Liberia;

13. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

RESOLUTION 985 (1995)

13 April 1995

Adopted by unanimous vote.
Prepared in the course of the Council's consultations.

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolutions 813 (1993) of 26 March 1993, 856 (1993) of 10 August 1993, 866 (1993) of 22 September 1993, 911 (1994) of 21 April 1994, 950 (1994) of 21 October 1994 and 972 (1995) of 13 January 1995,

Recalling also its resolution 788 (1992) of 19 November 1992, in which it decided, under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, that all States shall, for the purpose of establishing peace and stability in Liberia, immediately implement a general and complete embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Liberia until the Security Council decides otherwise, and in which it decided also that the embargo shall not apply to weapons and military equipment destined for the sole use of the peacekeeping forces of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in Liberia, subject to any review that may be required in conformity with the report of the Secretary-General,

Having considered the reports of the Secretary-General dated 24 February 1995 (S/1995/158) and 10 April 1995 (S/1995/279) on the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL),

Deeply concerned that the ceasefire in Liberia has broken down, precluding the full deployment of UNOMIL and preventing UNOMIL from fully carrying out its mandate,

Noting with deep concern that in violation of resolution 788 (1992) arms continue to be imported into Liberia, exacerbating the conflict,

Welcoming the decision of ECOWAS to hold a summit of Heads of State in May 1995,

1. Decides to extend the mandate of UNOMIL until 30 June 1995;

2. Urges all Liberian parties to implement the Akosombo Agreement (S/1994/1174) and the Accra Agreement (S/1995/7) by re-establishing an effective ceasefire, promptly installing the Council of State, and taking concrete steps towards the implementation of the other provisions of the Agreements;

3. Encourages the ECOWAS States to promote implementation of the Akosombo and Accra Agreements, and to continue to do all in their power to facilitate a political settlement in Liberia;

4. Urges all States, and in particular all neighbouring States, to comply fully with the embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Liberia imposed by resolution 788 (1992), and to that end ***decides*** to establish, in accordance with rule 28 of its provisional rules of procedure, a Committee of the Security Council, consisting of all the members of the Council, to undertake the following tasks and to report on its work to the Council with its observations and recommendations:

(a) To seek from all States information regarding the action taken by them concerning the effective implementation of the embargo imposed by paragraph 8 of resolution 788 (1992);

(b) To consider any information brought to its attention by States concerning violations of the embargo, and in that context to make recommendations to the Council on ways of increasing the effectiveness of the embargo;

(c) To recommend appropriate measures in response to violations of the embargo imposed by paragraph 8

of resolution 788 (1992) and provide information on a regular basis to the Secretary-General for general distribution to Member States;

5. Expresses its appreciation to the Chairman of ECOWAS for his initiative in organizing a regional summit on Liberia and to the Government of Nigeria for agreeing to host it, and ***urges*** all parties to participate;

6. Demands once more that all factions in Liberia strictly respect the status of personnel of the ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) and UNOMIL, and those of organizations and personnel delivering humanitarian assistance throughout Liberia and ***further demands*** that these factions facilitate such deliveries and that they strictly abide by applicable rules of international humanitarian law;

7. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council by 15 June 1995 on the situation in Liberia, including whether there is an effective ceasefire and whether UNOMIL can carry out its mandate, and on the status of contributions of financial and logistical resources from the international community in support of the troops participating in ECOMOG, and ***notes*** that the Council will consider the future of UNOMIL in the light of the Secretary-General's report;

8. Decides to remain actively seized of the matter.

RESOLUTION 1001 (1995)

30 June 1995

Adopted by unanimous vote.
Prepared in the course of the Council's consultations.

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolutions 788 (1992) of 19 November 1992, 813 (1993) of 26 March 1993, 856 (1993) of 10 August 1993, 866 (1993) of 22 September 1993, 911 (1994) of 21 April 1994, 950 (1994) of 21 October 1994, 972 (1995) of 13 January 1995, and 985 (1995) of 13 April 1995,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General dated 10 June 1995 (S/1995/473), on the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL),

Emphasizing that the people of Liberia bear the ultimate responsibility for achieving peace and national reconciliation,

Commending the positive role of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in its continuing efforts to restore peace, security and stability in Liberia,

Welcoming the recent summit meeting of Heads of State and Government of the Committee of Nine on Liberia of the Economic Community of West African States, in Abuja, Nigeria from 17 to 20 May 1995,

Noting that a further concerted and harmonized effort by all concerned, including the ECOWAS States, would be helpful to advance the peace process,

Concerned that the Liberian parties have so far failed to install the Council of State, re-establish an effective ceasefire and take concrete steps towards the implementation of the other provisions of the Accra Agreement,

Deeply concerned also at the continuing inter- and intra-factional fighting in parts of Liberia, which has further worsened the plight of the civilian population, particularly in rural areas, as well as affected the ability of humanitarian agencies to provide relief,

Calling on the Liberian factions, especially the combatants, to respect the human rights of the civilian population and to respect international humanitarian law,

Expressing great concern over the continued flow of arms into Liberia in violation of Security Council resolution 788 (1992),

Commending also those African States that have contributed troops to the ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), and those Member States that have provided assistance in support of the peace negotiations and the peacekeeping forces, including contributions to the Trust Fund for Liberia,

1. Welcomes the report of the Secretary-General dated 10 June 1995;

2. Stresses that continued international community support for the peace process in Liberia, including the continued presence of UNOMIL, is contingent on im-

mediate actions by the Liberian parties to peacefully resolve their differences and achieve national reconciliation;

3. Decides to extend the mandate of UNOMIL until 15 September 1995;

4. Urges that the Liberian parties use this period to make serious and substantial progress towards implementation of the Akosombo and Accra Agreements (S/1994/1174 and S/1995/7) and specifically to accomplish the following steps:

(a) Installation of the Council of State;

(b) Re-establishment of a comprehensive and effective ceasefire;

(c) Disengagement of all forces;

(d) Creation of an agreed timetable and schedule for the implementation of all other aspects of the agreements, in particular the disarmament process;

5. Declares its intention, after consideration of the report of the Secretary-General, that UNOMIL's mandate would not be renewed by the Security Council on 15 September 1995, unless the steps in paragraph 4 above are complied with by that date;

6. Declares its readiness if significant progress in the peace process in Liberia regarding the steps in paragraph 4 above is achieved by 15 September 1995 to consider restoring UNOMIL to its full strength with appropriate adjustment of its mandate and the relationship with ECOMOG to enable these two operations to carry out their respective functions more effectively as well as to consider other aspects of post-conflict peace-building in Liberia;

7. Urges the ECOWAS Ministers of the Committee of Nine as authorized by their Heads of State and Governments at the Abuja Summit of 17 to 20 May 1995, to reconvene a meeting of the Liberian parties and political leaders as soon as possible in order to finally resolve the outstanding issues of political settlement;

8. Urges Member States in the meantime to provide additional support for the peace process in Liberia by contributing to the United Nations Trust Fund for Liberia, and by providing financial, logistical and other assistance in support of the troops participating in ECOMOG in order to enable it to deploy fully and to carry out its mandate, particularly with respect to encampment and disarmament of the Liberian factions;

9. Requests the Secretary-General in this regard, to continue his efforts to obtain financial and logistical resources from Member States and urges those States that have pledged assistance to fulfil their commitments;

10. Reminds all States of their obligations to comply strictly with the embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Liberia imposed by resolution 788 (1992) and to bring all instances of violations of the arms embargo before the Committee established pursuant to resolution 985 (1995);

11. Reaffirms the continued necessity for ECOMOG and UNOMIL to cooperate in fulfilling their respective mandates and to this end urges ECOMOG to enhance its cooperation with UNOMIL at all levels to enable the mission to discharge its mandate;

12. Urges ECOMOG in accordance with the agreement regarding the respective roles and responsibilities of UNOMIL and ECOMOG in the implementation of the Cotonou Agreement (S/26272), to take necessary action to provide security for UNOMIL observers and civilian staff;

13. Demands once more, that all factions in Liberia strictly respect the status of ECOMOG and UNOMIL personnel, as well as organizations and agencies delivering humanitarian assistance throughout Liberia, and ***further demands*** that these factions facilitate such deliveries and that they strictly abide by applicable rules of international humanitarian law;

14. Commends the efforts made by Member States and humanitarian organizations in providing emergency humanitarian assistance and especially those of neighbouring countries in assisting Liberian refugees;

15. Urges the Organization of African Unity to continue its collaboration with ECOWAS in promoting the cause of peace in Liberia;

16. Expresses its appreciation to the Secretary-General and his Special Representative for their tireless efforts to bring peace and reconciliation to Liberia;

17. Requests the Secretary-General to continue, as described in his report, to review the level of personnel of UNOMIL, to adapt the practical implementation of the mandate and to report as appropriate;

18. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council before 15 September 1995 on the situation in Liberia;

19. Decides to remain seized of the matter.

RESOLUTION 1014 (1995)
15 September 1995

Adopted by unanimous vote.
Prepared in the course of the Council's consultations.

The Security Council,

Recalling all its previous resolutions concerning the situation in Liberia, in particular resolution 1001 (1995) of 30 June 1995,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General dated 9 September 1995 (S/1995/781) on the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL),

Welcoming the recent Abuja Agreement signed by the Liberian parties on 19 August 1995 (S/1995/742), which amends and supplements the Cotonou and Akosombo Agreements (S/26272 and S/1994/1174) as subsequently clarified by the Accra Agreement (S/1995/7),

Welcoming the installation of a new Council of State, the re-establishment of a comprehensive and effective ceasefire, the beginning of the disengagement of forces and the agreement on a new timetable and schedule for the implementation of all other aspects of the Agreement,

Commending the positive role of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), in its continuing efforts to restore peace, security and stability in Liberia,

Commending in particular the efforts of the Governments of Nigeria and Ghana as host and Chairman respectively of the Abuja meeting, which have significantly contributed to the conclusion of the Abuja Agreement by the Liberian parties,

Noting that with these positive developments the Liberian parties have made appreciable progress towards the peaceful resolution of the conflict,

Emphasizing the need for all the Liberian parties to respect and implement fully all the agreements and commitments they have entered into, in particular with regard to maintenance of the ceasefire, disarmament and demobilization of combatants, and national reconciliation,

Emphasizing also once again that the people of Liberia bear the ultimate responsibility for achieving peace and national reconciliation,

Expressing its appreciation to those African States that have contributed and are contributing troops to the ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG),

Commending also those Member States that have provided assistance in support of the peace process, including contributions to the Trust Fund for Liberia,

Noting also that with the signing of the Abuja Agreement, additional resources in terms of troops, equipment and logistic support would be required by ECOMOG if it is to be able to deploy throughout the country to oversee the implementation of the various aspects of the Agreement, in particular the disarmament and demobilization process,

1. Welcomes the report of the Secretary-General dated 9 September 1995;

2. Decides to extend the mandate of UNOMIL until 31 January 1996;

3. Welcomes the Secretary-General's intention to increase immediately by 42 the number of military observers to monitor the ceasefire and the disengagement of forces, and ***considers*** that any increase beyond that should be based on progress on the ground in implementing the peace agreement;

4. Welcomes also the intention of the Secretary-General to submit by the end of October 1995, for the

Council's consideration, recommendations concerning the new concept of operations of UNOMIL which should address, *inter alia*, measures to enhance the relationship between UNOMIL and ECOMOG, aspects of disarmament and demobilization, and the resources which UNOMIL will require to carry out its tasks effectively; and ***expresses its intention*** to review and respond to the Secretary-General's recommendations in an expeditious manner;

5. Urges Member States to provide additional support for the peace process in Liberia by contributing to the United Nations Trust Fund for Liberia, and in this regard calls on those States that have pledged assistance to fulfil their commitments;

6. Urges also all Member States to provide financial, logistical and other assistance in support of ECOMOG to enable it to carry out its mandate, particularly with respect to encampment and disarmament of the Liberian factions;

7. Requests the Secretary-General in this regard to continue his efforts to obtain financial and logistical resources from Member States and ***welcomes*** his intention to organize, in consultation with the Chairman of ECOWAS, the holding of a pledging conference for Liberia as soon as possible to raise the resources needed by ECOMOG and for other needs critical to the advancement of the peace process in Liberia;

8. Welcomes further the Secretary-General's intention to dispatch a mission to Liberia to consult with the Liberian leaders and other interested parties on the requirements in the evolving implementation of the Abuja Agreement and looks forward to his report on the mission's results and recommendations;

9. Encourages Member States, in particular African countries, to consider providing troops to the expanded ECOMOG;

10. Stresses that continued support by the international community for the peace process in Liberia including the continued participation of UNOMIL is contingent on the continued commitment by the Liberian parties to resolve their differences peacefully and to achieve national reconciliation;

11. Reminds all States of their obligations to comply strictly with the embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Liberia imposed by resolution 788 (1992) and to bring all instances of violations of the arms embargo before the Committee established pursuant to resolution 985 (1995);

12. Calls on ECOMOG, in accordance with the agreement regarding the respective roles and responsibilities of UNOMIL and ECOMOG in the implementation of the Cotonou Agreement, to take necessary action to provide security for UNOMIL observers and civilian staff;

13. Demands once more, that all factions in Liberia strictly respect the status of ECOMOG and UNOMIL personnel, as well as organizations and agencies delivering humanitarian assistance throughout Liberia, and ***further demands*** that these factions facilitate such deliveries and that they strictly abide by applicable rules of international humanitarian law;

14. Commends the efforts made by Member States, including those of neighbouring countries, and humanitarian organizations in providing emergency humanitarian assistance to Liberian refugees and calls upon them to increase the efforts already made to handle the voluntary and rapid return of refugees in their country and other aspects of humanitarian assistance;

15. Encourages the Organization of African Unity to continue its post-conflict peace-building collaboration with ECOWAS in promoting the cause of peace in Liberia;

16. Expresses its appreciation to the Secretary-General, his Special Representative and all UNOMIL personnel for their tireless efforts to bring peace and reconciliation to Liberia;

17. Decides to remain seized of the matter.

RESOLUTION 1020 (1995)

10 November 1995

Adopted by unanimous vote.
Prepared in the course of the Council's consultations.

The Security Council,

Recalling all its previous resolutions concerning the situation in Liberia, in particular resolutions 866 (1993) of 22 September 1993 and 1014 (1995) of 15 September 1995,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General dated 23 October 1995 (S/1995/881) on the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL),

Commending the positive role of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), in its continuing efforts to restore peace, security and stability in Liberia,

Stressing the importance of full cooperation and close coordination between UNOMIL and the ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) in the implementation of their respective mandates,

Noting the appreciable progress the Liberian parties have recently made towards the peaceful resolution of the conflict including the re-establishment of a ceasefire, installation of the new Council of State and an agreement on a timetable for the implementation of the peace process from ceasefire to election,

Noting also that the Liberian parties appear more determined than ever before to take tangible steps towards the restoration of peace and stability in their country,

Expressing its concern about the incidence of ceasefire violations and delays in the process of disengagement of forces,

Expressing also its appreciation to those African States that have contributed and are contributing troops to ECOMOG,

Commending also those Member States that have provided assistance in support of the peace process, including contributions to the Trust Fund for Liberia,

1. Welcomes the report of the Secretary-General dated 23 October 1995;

2. Decides to adjust the mandate of UNOMIL to be defined as follows:

(a) To exercise its good offices to support the efforts of ECOWAS and the Liberian National Transitional Government (LNTG) to implement the peace agreements and to cooperate with them for this purpose;

(b) To investigate all allegations of violations of the ceasefire reported to the Ceasefire Violations Committee, to recommend measures to prevent the recurrence of such violations and to report to the Secretary-General accordingly;

(c) To monitor compliance with the other military provisions of the peace agreements including disengagement of forces, disarmament and observance of the arms embargo and tc verify their impartial application;

(d) To assist, as appropriate, in the maintenance of assembly sites agreed upon by ECOMOG, the LNTG and the factions, and in the implementation of a programme for demobilization of combatants, in cooperation with the LNTG, donor agencies and non-governmental organizations;

(e) To support, as appropriate, humanitarian assistance activities;

(f) To investigate and report to the Secretary-General on violations of human rights and to assist local human rights groups, as appropriate, in raising voluntary contributions for training and logistic support;

(g) To observe and verify the election process, in consultation with the Organization of African Unity and ECOWAS, including the legislative and presidential elections to be held in accordance with provisions of the peace agreements;

3. Decides that the number of military observers should be a maximum of 160;

4. Welcomes also in this context the recommendations contained in the Secretary-General's report concerning the new concept of operations for UNOMIL;

5. Calls upon all the Liberian parties to respect and implement fully and expeditiously all the agreements and commitments they have entered into, in particular with regard to the maintenance of the ceasefire, disarmament and demobilization of combatants, and national reconciliation, taking into account that the restoration of peace and democracy in Liberia is primarily the responsibility of those parties which

signed the Abuja Agreement on 19 August 1995 (S/1995/742);

6. Urges Member States to provide additional support for the peace process in Liberia by contributing to the United Nations Trust Fund for Liberia, and in this regard encourages States that pledged assistance to fulfil their commitments;

7. Urges also all Member States to provide financial, logistical and other assistance in support of ECOMOG to enable it to carry out its mandate, particularly with respect to assembly and disarmament of the Liberian factions;

8. Welcomes the commitments made at the Conference on Assistance to Liberia, held in New York on 27 October 1995;

9. Reiterates that continued support by the international community for the peace process in Liberia is contingent on the continued commitment by the Liberian parties to achieve national reconciliation in line with the peace process;

10. Urges the LNTG to take the necessary action to avoid further incidents of ceasefire violations and maintain the momentum of the peace process;

11. Reminds all States of their obligations to comply strictly with the embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Liberia imposed by resolution 788 (1992) and to bring all instances of violations of the arms embargo before the Committee established pursuant to resolution 985 (1995);

12. Calls on ECOMOG, in accordance with the agreement regarding the respective roles and responsibilities of UNOMIL and ECOMOG in the implementation of the Cotonou Agreement (S/26272) and the new concept of operations, to take necessary action to provide security for UNOMIL observers and civilian staff;

13. Stresses the need for close contacts and enhanced coordination between UNOMIL and ECOMOG in their operational activities at all levels;

14. Demands once more that all factions in Liberia strictly respect the status of ECOMOG and UNOMIL personnel, as well as organizations and agencies delivering humanitarian assistance throughout Liberia, and ***further demands*** that these factions facilitate such deliveries and that they strictly abide by applicable rules of international humanitarian law;

15. Stresses the need for improved coordination in carrying out the repatriation of refugees and the resettlement of internally displaced persons;

16. Stresses also the importance of respect of human rights in Liberia as well as the necessity to rehabilitate promptly the penitentiary system in this country;

17. Requests the Secretary-General to submit by 15 December 1995 a progress report on the situation in Liberia including the implementation of the adjusted mandate of UNOMIL, as well as its new concept of operations;

18. Expresses its appreciation to the Secretary-General, his Special Representative and all UNOMIL personnel for their tireless efforts to bring peace and reconciliation to Liberia;

19. Decides to remain seized of the matter.

RESOLUTION 1041 (1996)

29 January 1996

Adopted by unanimous vote.
Prepared in the course of the Council's consultations.

The Security Council,

Recalling all its previous resolutions concerning the situation in Liberia, in particular resolution 1020 (1995) of 10 November 1995,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General dated 23 January 1996 (S/1996/47) on the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL),

Commending the positive role of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), in its continuing efforts to restore peace, security and stability in Liberia,

Expressing its grave concern about the recent incidence of ceasefire violations and attacks on ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) troops as

well as continuing delays in the process of disengagement and disarmament of forces,

Stressing the need for all parties to the Abuja Agreement (S/1995/742, annex) to adhere strictly to its terms and expedite its implementation,

Emphasizing once again that the people of Liberia and their leaders bear the ultimate responsibility for achieving peace and national reconciliation,

Expressing also its appreciation to those African States that have contributed and are contributing troops to ECOMOG,

Commending also those Member States that have provided assistance in support of the peace process and to ECOMOG, including contributions to the Trust Fund for Liberia,

1. Welcomes the report of the Secretary-General dated 23 January 1996;

2. Decides to extend the mandate of UNOMIL until 31 May 1996;

3. Calls upon all the Liberian parties to respect and implement fully and expeditiously all the agreements and commitments they have already entered into, in particular the provisions of the Abuja Agreement with regard to the maintenance of the ceasefire, disarmament and demobilization of combatants, and national reconciliation;

4. Condemns the recent armed attacks against personnel of ECOMOG and against civilians, and demands that such hostile acts cease forthwith;

5. Expresses the Council's condolences to the Governments and peoples of the ECOMOG countries and the families of the ECOMOG personnel who have lost their lives;

6. Demands once more that all factions in Liberia strictly respect the status of ECOMOG and UNOMIL personnel, as well as organizations and agencies delivering humanitarian assistance throughout Liberia, and further demands that these factions facilitate such deliveries and that they strictly abide by the relevant rules of international humanitarian law;

7. Urges all Member States to provide financial, logistical and other assistance in support of ECOMOG to enable it to carry out its mandate, particularly with respect to disarmament of the Liberian factions;

8. Stresses that continued support by the international community for the peace process in Liberia, including the participation of UNOMIL, is contingent on the demonstrated enduring commitment by the Liberian parties to resolve their differences peacefully and to achieve national reconciliation in line with the peace process;

9. Requests the Secretary-General to submit by 31 March 1996 a progress report on the situation in Liberia, in particular the progress in disarmament and demobilization, and in planning for elections;

10. Calls on ECOMOG, in accordance with the agreement regarding the respective roles and responsibilities of UNOMIL and ECOMOG in the implementation of the Cotonou Agreement (S/26272) and the UNOMIL concept of operations, to intensify the necessary action to provide security for UNOMIL observers and civilian staff;

11. Stresses the need for close contacts and enhanced coordination between UNOMIL and ECOMOG in their operational activities at all levels;

12. Urges Member States to continue to provide additional support for the peace process in Liberia by contributing to the United Nations Trust Fund for Liberia;

13. Stresses also the importance of respect for human rights in Liberia as well as the need to rehabilitate promptly the penitentiary system in this country;

14. Reminds all States of their obligations to comply strictly with the embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Liberia imposed by resolution 788 (1992) of 19 November 1992 and to bring all instances of violations of the embargo before the Committee established pursuant to resolution 985 (1995) of 13 April 1995;

15. Expresses its appreciation to the Secretary-General, his Special Representative and all UNOMIL

personnel for their tireless efforts to bring peace and reconciliation to Liberia;

16. Decides to remain seized of the matter.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT
9 April 1996 (S/PRST/1996/16)

At the 3649th meeting of the Security Council, held on 9 April 1996 in connection with the Council's consideration of the item entitled "The situation in Liberia", the President of the Security Council made the following statement on behalf of the Council:

The Security Council expresses its grave concern at the outbreak of fighting in Monrovia and the rapidly deteriorating situation throughout Liberia. This new outbreak of factional fighting, the harassment and abuse of the civilian population and humanitarian and relief workers, threatens the peace process and raises serious doubts about the commitment of the factions to its implementation.

The Security Council reminds all parties of their responsibility fully to respect international humanitarian law with regard to the civilian population and to ensure the safety of United Nations and other international personnel, and calls upon them to take immediate steps to this end. The Council calls on all parties to fulfil their obligation to respect the inviolability of diplomatic personnel and property.

The Security Council expresses its deep concern at the failure of the Council of State and the faction leaders to demonstrate the political will and determination required for implementation of the Abuja Agreement. Unless Liberia's political leaders immediately show by concrete positive actions a reaffirmation of their commitment to the Abuja Agreement and fully honour their obligation to re-establish and maintain the ceasefire, they risk losing the support of the international community. The Council underscores the personal responsibility of Liberia's leaders in this regard.

The Security Council reaffirms its support for the Abuja Agreement as the only existing framework for resolving Liberia's political crisis and the crucial role of the Economic Community of West African States in bringing the conflict to an end.

The Security Council calls on the Liberian National Transitional Government and the Liberian parties to work with the West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) immediately to disengage all forces, re-establish peace and law and order in Monrovia and an effective and comprehensive ceasefire throughout the country. The Council calls on the parties, in particular ULIMO-J, to release all hostages without harm. It further calls upon the parties to return all captured weapons and equipment to ECOMOG.

The Security Council reminds all States of their obligation to comply strictly with the embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Liberia imposed by resolution 788 (1992) and to bring all instances of violations of the arms embargo before the Committee established pursuant to resolution 985 (1995).

The Security Council declares its intention, based on the progress made by the Liberian parties in implementing the steps set out above, and after consideration of the report of the Secretary-General on developments in Liberia, to determine what further measures may be appropriate regarding the future United Nations presence in Liberia.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT
6 May 1996 (S/PRST/1996/22)

At the 3661st meeting of the Security Council, held on 6 May 1996 in connection with the Council's consideration of the item entitled "The situation in Liberia", the President of the Security Council made the following statement on behalf of the Council:

The Security Council expresses once again its grave concern at the deteriorating situation in Liberia. The Council strongly deplores the wanton killing and atrocities committed against innocent civilians by the forces of the warring factions. The escalating violence among the factions in violation of the Abuja Agreement puts the peace process at grave risk.

The Security Council calls upon the parties immediately to cease fighting, to observe the ceasefire and to return Monrovia to a safe haven under the protection of the Military Observer Group of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOMOG). It expres-

ses its support for the efforts of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), including the role of ECOMOG, to bring this conflict to an end.

The Security Council regrets that the deterioration of the situation in Liberia has forced the evacuation of significant numbers of personnel of the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia. The Council reminds all States of their obligation to comply with the embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Liberia imposed by resolution 788 (1992).

The Security Council stresses the importance it attaches to the ECOWAS Summit meeting to be held in Accra on 8 May 1996 and urges the leaders of the Liberian factions to reaffirm by concrete positive actions their commitment to the Abuja Agreement.

RESOLUTION 1059 (1996)
31 May 1996

Adopted by unanimous vote.
Prepared in the course of the Council's consultations.

The Security Council,

Recalling all its previous resolutions concerning the situation in Liberia, in particular resolution 1041 (1996) of 29 January 1996,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General dated 21 May 1996 (S/1996/362) on the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL),

Stressing that the escalating violence is in violation of the Abuja Agreement (S/1995/742, annex) and puts the peace process at grave risk,

Firmly convinced of the importance of Monrovia as a safe haven, and noting especially the recent broader deployment of ECOMOG in the city,

Emphasizing once again that the people of Liberia and their leaders bear the ultimate responsibility for achieving peace and national reconciliation,

Commending the positive role of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in its continuing efforts to restore peace, security and stability in Liberia,

Noting the adoption of a Mechanism for Returning Liberia to the Abuja Agreement by the ECOWAS Foreign Ministers on 7 May 1996,

Expressing its appreciation to those African States that have contributed and are contributing troops to the ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG),

Commending also those Member States that have supported the peace process and ECOMOG, including through contributions to the Trust Fund for Liberia,

Stressing also that the presence of UNOMIL in Liberia is predicated on the presence of ECOMOG and its commitment to ensure the safety of UNOMIL military observers and civilian staff,

1. Welcomes the report of the Secretary-General dated 21 May 1996;

2. Decides to extend the mandate of UNOMIL until 31 August 1996;

3. Recognizes that the deterioration of the security situation on the ground warranted the Secretary-General's decision to temporarily reduce the strength of UNOMIL;

4. Notes the Secretary-General's intention to maintain UNOMIL deployments at their present level and requests that he advise the Security Council of any significant planned increase in the number of personnel deployed depending on the evolution of the security situation on the ground;

5. Expresses its grave concern at the collapse of the ceasefire, the resumption of hostilities and the spread of fighting into the previously safe area of Monrovia and its environs;

6. Condemns all attacks against personnel of ECOMOG, UNOMIL, and international organizations and agencies delivering humanitarian assistance as well as the looting of their equipment, supplies and personal property, and calls for the immediate return of looted property;

7. Demands once more that the factions in Liberia strictly respect the status of ECOMOG and UNOMIL personnel, as well as international organizations and agencies delivering humanitarian assistance throughout Liberia, and further demands that these

factions facilitate such deliveries and that they strictly abide by the relevant rules of international humanitarian law;

8. Calls upon the Liberian parties to implement fully and expeditiously all the agreements and commitments they have already entered into, in particular the Abuja Agreement, and in this regard demands that they restore an effective and comprehensive ceasefire, withdraw all fighters and arms from Monrovia, allow the deployment of ECOMOG, and restore Monrovia as a safe haven;

9. Stresses that continued support by the international community for the peace process in Liberia, including the participation of UNOMIL, is contingent on the Liberian parties' demonstrating their commitment to resolve their differences peacefully and on the fulfilment of the conditions set out in paragraph 8;

10. Stresses the importance of respect for human rights in Liberia;

11. Recalls the obligation of all States to comply strictly with the embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Liberia imposed by resolution 788 (1992) of 19 November 1992 and to bring all instances of violations of the embargo before the Committee established pursuant to resolution 985 (1995) of 13 April 1995;

12. Encourages the members of ECOWAS in preparation for their summit to consider ways and means to strengthen ECOMOG and to persuade the faction leaders to resume the peace process;

13. Urges all Member States to provide financial, logistical and other assistance in support of ECOMOG to enable it to carry out its mandate;

14. Calls on ECOMOG, in accordance with the agreement regarding the respective roles and responsibilities of UNOMIL and ECOMOG in the implementation of the Cotonou Agreement (S/26272) and with the UNOMIL concept of operations, to provide for the security of UNOMIL observers and civilian staff;

15. Expresses support for the resolve of the ECOWAS Ministers not to recognize any Government in Liberia that comes to office through the use of force;

16. Urges Member States to continue to provide additional support for the peace process in Liberia by contributing to the United Nations Trust Fund for Liberia;

17. Requests the Secretary-General to continue to keep the Security Council closely informed of the situation in Liberia, and expresses its readiness, if the situation further deteriorates, to consider possible measures against those who do not cooperate with the resumption of the peace process;

18. Decides to remain seized of the matter.

RESOLUTION 1071 (1996)

30 August 1996

Adopted by unanimous vote.
Prepared in the course of the Council's consultations.

The Security Council,

Recalling all its previous resolutions concerning the situation in Liberia, in particular resolution 1059 (1996) of 31 May 1996,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General dated 22 August 1996 (S/1996/684) on the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL),

Noting the letter of 21 August 1996 to the President of the Security Council containing the Final Communiqué of the Heads of State and Government of the Economic Community of West Africa (ECOWAS) Committee of Nine of Liberia, held at Abuja on 17 August 1996 (S/1996/679),

Welcoming the increasing restoration of Monrovia as a safe haven,

Emphasizing once again that the people of Liberia and their leaders bear the ultimate responsibility for achieving peace and national reconciliation,

Recognizing the positive role of ECOWAS in its efforts to restore peace, security and stability in Liberia,

Expressing its appreciation to those African States contributing troops to the ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG),

Commending also those Member States that have supported the peace process, UNOMIL, and ECOMOG, including through contributions to the United Nations trust fund for Liberia,

Stressing also that the continued presence of UNOMIL in Liberia is predicated on the presence of ECOMOG and its commitment to ensure the safety of UNOMIL and emphasizing the need for enhanced coordination between UNOMIL and ECOMOG,

1. Welcomes the report of the Secretary-General dated 22 August 1996;

2. Decides to extend the mandate of UNOMIL until 30 November 1996;

3. Welcomes the agreement of ECOWAS in Abuja on 17 August 1996, which extended the 1995 Abuja agreement until 15 June 1997, established a timetable for implementation of the agreement, adopted a mechanism to verify compliance by the faction leaders with the agreement, and proposed possible measures against the factions in the event of noncompliance;

4. Calls upon the Liberian factions to implement fully and expeditiously all the agreements and commitments they have entered into;

5. Requests the Secretary-General to report to the Security Council by 15 October 1996 with proposals for assistance which UNOMIL or other United Nations agencies could provide in support of the Liberian peace process, including support for the election process, disarmament, demobilization, and verification of compliance by the factions;

6. Further decides to maintain UNOMIL deployments at an appropriate level as recommended in the report of the Secretary-General and requests that the Secretary-General take into account the need to ensure the security of UNOMIL personnel and advise the Council of any planned further deployments;

7. Stresses that the continued support of the international community for the peace process in Liberia, including the participation of UNOMIL, is contingent on the Liberian factions' demonstrating their commitment to resolve their differences peacefully and to achieve national reconciliation in accordance with the agreement reached in Abuja on 17 August 1996;

8. Condemns all attacks against and intimidation of personnel of ECOMOG, UNOMIL, and the international organizations and agencies delivering humanitarian assistance as well as the looting of their equipment, supplies, and personal property, ***calls upon*** the leaders of the factions to ensure the immediate return of looted property, and ***requests*** the Secretary-General to include in the report referred to in paragraph 5 above information on how much of the stolen property has been returned;

9. Condemns the practice of some factions of recruiting, training, and deploying children for combat, and ***requests*** the Secretary-General to include in the report referred to in paragraph 5 above details on this inhumane and abhorrent practice;

10. Demands once more that the factions and their leaders strictly respect the status of the personnel of ECOMOG, UNOMIL and international organizations and agencies, including humanitarian assistance workers, and ***further demands*** that these factions facilitate the freedom of movement of UNOMIL and the delivery of humanitarian assistance and that they strictly abide by the relevant principles and rules of international humanitarian law;

11. Stresses the importance of respect for human rights in Liberia and also the human rights aspect of UNOMIL's mandate;

12. Stresses the obligation of all States to comply strictly with the embargo on all deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Liberia imposed by resolution 788 (1992) of 19 November 1992, to take all actions necessary to ensure strict implementation of the embargo, and to bring all instances of violations of the embargo before the Committee established pursuant to resolution 985 (1995) of 13 April 1995;

13. Urges all States to provide financial, logistical and other assistance in support of ECOMOG to assist it to carry out its mandate;

14. Urges all States to contribute to the United Nations trust fund for Liberia;

15. Stresses the importance of close contacts and enhanced coordination between UNOMIL and ECOMOG in their operational activities at all levels and calls on ECOMOG, in accordance with the agreement regarding the respective roles and responsibilities of UNOMIL and ECOMOG in the implementation of the Cotonou agreement (S/26272) and with the UNOMIL concept of operations, to provide security for UNOMIL;

16. Requests the Secretary-General to continue to keep the Security Council closely informed of the situation in Liberia;

17. Decides to remain seized of the matter.

RESOLUTION 1083 (1996)

27 November 1996

Adopted by unanimous vote.
Prepared in the course of the Council's consultations.

The Security Council,

Recalling its previous resolutions concerning the situation in Liberia, in particular resolution 1071 (1996) of 30 August 1996,

Welcoming the report of the Secretary-General dated 19 November 1996 (S/1996/962),

Noting with grave concern the continued violations by the factions of the ceasefire as agreed to in the 19 August 1995 Abuja Agreement (S/1995/742) and in the timetable for implementation established on 17 August 1996 (S/1996/679) when the Abuja Agreement was extended, which threaten the prospects for peace in Liberia,

Welcoming the beginning of the disarmament process on 22 November in accordance with the amended implementation schedule of the Abuja Agreement and ***urging*** all factions to participate as they have agreed,

Reiterating that the people of Liberia and their leaders bear the ultimate responsibility for achieving peace and national reconciliation,

Noting with appreciation the active efforts of the Economic Community of the West African States (ECOWAS) to restore peace, security and stability to Liberia and ***commending*** the African States which have contributed to the ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG),

Expressing its appreciation to those States which have supported the United Nations Military Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) and those which have contributed to the Trust Fund for Liberia,

Emphasizing that the continued presence of UNOMIL is predicated on the presence of ECOMOG and its commitment to ensure the safety of UNOMIL,

1. Calls upon the Liberian factions to cease hostilities immediately and to implement the commitments they have entered into, especially the agreement of ECOWAS in Abuja on 17 August 1996, which established a timetable for implementation of the agreement, adopted a mechanism to verify compliance by the faction leaders with the agreement, and proposed possible measures against the factions in the event of non-compliance;

2. Urges the factions to complete on time the disarmament process, which is one of the key steps leading up to the forthcoming elections in 1997;

3. Stresses the urgent need for the international community to support the work and training projects to help ensure the social and economic rehabilitation of demobilized combatants;

4. Decides to extend the mandate of UNOMIL until 31 March 1997;

5. Decides further to maintain UNOMIL deployments at an appropriate level as recommended in paragraph 37 of the report of the Secretary-General (S/1996/962), and ***requests*** that the Secretary-General, taking into account the need to ensure the security of UNOMIL personnel, advise the Council of any planned further deployments;

6. Condemns in the strongest possible terms the practice of recruiting, training, and deploying children for combat, and ***demands*** that the warring parties

immediately cease this inhumane and abhorrent activity and release all child soldiers for demobilization;

7. Condemns all attacks against and intimidation of personnel of ECOMOG, UNOMIL, and the international organizations and agencies delivering humanitarian assistance as well as the looting of their equipment, supplies, and personal property, and ***calls upon*** the leaders of the factions to return stolen property;

8. Demands that the factions facilitate the freedom of movement of UNOMIL, ECOMOG, and international organizations and agencies and the safe delivery of humanitarian assistance and that they strictly abide by the principles and rules of international humanitarian law;

9. Stresses the importance of respect for human rights in Liberia, and ***emphasizes*** the human rights aspect of UNOMIL's mandate;

10. Stresses also the obligation of all States to comply strictly with the embargo on the deliveries of weapons and military equipment to Liberia imposed by resolution 788 (1992) of 19 November 1992, to take all actions necessary to ensure strict implementation of the embargo, and to bring all instances of violations of the embargo before the Committee established pursuant to resolution 985 (1995) of 13 April 1995;

11. Reiterates strongly its appeal to all States to provide financial, logistical and other assistance in support of ECOMOG to assist it in carrying out its mission and to contribute to the United Nations Trust Fund for Liberia in order to help implement the peace process, including demobilization and reintegration;

12. Stresses the importance of close contacts and enhanced coordination between UNOMIL and ECOMOG at all levels and ***calls upon*** ECOMOG, in accordance with the agreement regarding the respective roles and responsibilities of UNOMIL and ECOMOG in the implementation of the Cotonou agreement (S/26272) and with the UNOMIL concept of operations, to provide security for UNOMIL;

13. Requests the Secretary-General to keep the Council informed of the situation in Liberia, especially on the progress of demobilization and disarmament and to submit by 31 January 1997 a progress report and recommendations on possible United Nations support for the holding of free and fair elections;

14. Decides to remain seized of the matter.

ANNEX

LETTER DATED 6 AUGUST 1993 FROM THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES A.I. OF THE PERMANENT MISSION OF BENIN TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

(S/26272, 9 August 1993)

In transmitting to you the Cotonou Agreement relating to the situation in Liberia, I have the honour to request, on instructions from my Government, that you arrange for it to be circulated as a United Nations document, more specifically as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Ayité J. C. KRAKPO
Chargé d'affaires a.i.
Deputy Permanent Representative

Annex

AGREEMENT

THIS AGREEMENT is made this twenty-fifth day of July one thousand nine hundred and ninety-three —

BETWEEN THE Interim Government of National Unity of Liberia (IGNU) of the first part and the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) of the second part and the United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO) of the third part.

PART I
MILITARY ISSUES
SECTION A
Article 1
DECLARATION

1. The Parties to this Agreement hereby agree and declare a ceasefire and the cessation of hostilities — to become effective at the date and time and on the conditions stipulated in article 2 and section C below.

2. The Parties further declare that all parties or groups within and without the perimeter of Liberia shall refrain from act(s) or activity(ies) that may violate or facilitate the violation of the ceasefire.

Article 2
EFFECTIVE DATE

The Parties also agree that the ceasefire stated hereinabove and the cessation of hostilities shall take effect seven days from the date of signing of this Agreement, commencing at 12 midnight.

SECTION B
Article 3
SUPERVISORY AND MONITORING AUTHORITY

1. The ECOMOG and the United Nations Observer Mission shall supervise and monitor the implementation of this Agreement. The Parties hereby expressly recognize the neutrality and authority of the Economic Community of West Africa States (ECOWAS) Military Observer Group (ECOMOG) and the United Nations Observer Mission in respect of the foregoing. Accordingly, the ECOMOG and United Nations observers shall enjoy complete freedom of movement throughout Liberia.

2. By "ECOMOG Peacekeeping Force" is meant an expanded ECOMOG which includes the forces of ECOWAS Member States and African troops from outside the West African region.

3. The Parties agree further that in order to monitor and ensure against any violation of the ceasefire between the period of the effective date of the ceasefire and the arrival of ECOMOG and full contingent of the United Nations Observer Mission, a Joint Ceasefire Monitoring Committee is hereby established, which shall have the authority to monitor, investigate and report all ceasefire violations. The Committee shall comprise an equal number of representatives from each of the parties hereto, ECOMOG and an advance team of the United Nations Observer Mission. Each group of the Joint Ceasefire Monitoring Committee shall be chaired by the United Nations observer in the group. It shall freely travel throughout the country. This Committee shall automatically be dissolved and deemed to be dissolved upon the arrival and deployment of ECOMOG and the full contingent of the United Nations Observer Mission.

SECTION C
Article 4
TERMS AND CONDITIONS

The Parties hereby state further that they have agreed to the ceasefire stipulated above on the following terms and conditions:

1. Prohibitions upon the Parties:

The Parties agree not to:

(a) Import any weapons and war-like materials by any means into Liberia;

(b) Use the period of the ceasefire to engage in any military build-up whether in manpower or armaments; or

(c) Engage in any other activity that would violate or result in the violation of the ceasefire.

2. Adherence to stipulations on military embargo

The Parties recognize and accept that the military embargo imposed on and upon all warring parties by ECOWAS and the United Nations Security Council shall remain in full force and effect.

3. Creation of buffer zones

ECOMOG shall create zones or otherwise seal the borders, whichever is militarily feasible, of Liberia-Guinea, Liberia-Sierra Leone and Liberia-Côte d'Ivoire to prevent cross-border attacks, infiltration or importation of arms. There shall be deployed United Nations observers in all of such zones to monitor, verify and report on any and all of the foregoing and the implementation thereof.

4. Monitoring and supervision of entry points

All points of entry including, sea ports, airfields and roads shall be monitored and supervised by ECOMOG. There shall be deployed United Nations observers to monitor, verify and report on the implementation of the foregoing activities.

5. Position of warring parties at declaration of ceasefire

The warring parties shall remain and maintain their positions held as at the effective date of this ceasefire, until the commencement of encampment.

SECTION D
Article 5
ACTS OF VIOLATION

1. The Parties hereto hereby agree to honour every and all provisions of this Agreement, and stipulate that any party committing any acts of violations shall be held liable for such violations.

2. The following acts shall constitute violation of the ceasefire:

(a) Importation of arms and ammunition, incendiary devices and other war-related items;

(b) Changing or improvement of existing positions or fortification or alteration of existing positions;

(c) Attack (whether with conventional or unconventional weapons) against the position of any warring faction by another, or firing at an individual of a warring faction established to have been carried out at the instance of the authority of the warring party to which he/she belongs;

(d) The systematic use of conventional or unconventional weapons (i.e. knives, cutlasses, bows and arrows, etc.);

(e) Recruitment and training of combatants and/or groups of persons after the effective date of this Agreement;

(f) Any proven use of communication devices, facilities or propaganda designed to incite or having the effect of inciting hostilities between any of the warring parties;

(g) Planting of mines and incendiary devices subsequent to the effective date of the ceasefire; refusal to disclose the existence of or places where such devices or mines have been planted; and deliberate failure to cooperate or furnish maps (where available) where such devices have been planted;

(h) Obstruction of the implementation of any of the provisions of the Agreement by any party or its authorized agent;

(i) Harassments or attacks upon ECOMOG, the United Nations Observer Mission or the Joint Ceasefire Monitoring Committee;

(j) Obstructions of the activities of ECOMOG, United Nations observers and the Joint Ceasefire Monitoring Committee.

SECTION E
Article 6
DISARMAMENT

Disarmament being the ultimate objective of the ceasefire, the Parties hereto agree and express their intent and willingness to disarm to and under the supervision of ECOMOG, monitored and verified by the United Nations Observer Mission. In conformity therewith, the parties agree that:

1. All weapons and warlike materials collected shall be stored by ECOMOG in armouries designated by ECOMOG, monitored and verified by United Nations observers.

2. All weapons and warlike materials in the possession of the parties shall be given to ECOMOG, monitored by United Nations observers, upon appropriate recording and inventory, and placed in designated armouries.

3. Said armouries shall be secured by ECOMOG, monitored and verified by United Nations observers, upon proper documentation or inventory of all weapons and warlike materials received.

4. Each of the warring factions shall ensure that its combatants report all weapons and warlike materials to ECOMOG, monitored and verified by United Nations observers, upon proper inventory. Such weapons and warlike materials, upon inventory, shall be taken to the designated armouries by ECOMOG, under the monitoring and verification of United Nations observers.

5. All non-combatants who are in possession of weapons and warlike materials shall also report and surrender same to ECOMOG, monitored and verified by United Nations observers. Such weapons and warlike materials shall be returned to the owners after due registration, licensing and certification by the governing authority after the elections.

6. ECOMOG shall have the authority to disarm any combatant or non-combatant in possession of weapons and warlike materials. The United Nations observers shall monitor all such activities.

7. For the sole purpose of maintaining the ceasefire, ECOMOG shall conduct any search to recover lost or hidden weapons, observed and monitored by the United Nations observers.

SECTION F
Article 7
ENCAMPMENT

1. Purpose

(a) The Parties agree and fully commit themselves to the encampment of their combatants in encampment centres established by ECOMOG, monitored and verified by United Nations observers, the purpose of which shall be, in addition to the disarmament and demobilization, to serve as a transit point for the further education, training and rehabilitation of said combatants; and

(b) Consistent with the above, the parties agree to submit to ECOMOG and the United Nations observers, a complete listing of their combatants and weapons and warlike materials and their locations to the nearest encampment centres.

2. Commencement of encampment

The Parties agree that encampment shall commence immediately upon the deployment of ECOMOG and the United Nations Observer Mission. Copies of the schedule of encampment shall be furnished to all the parties hereto.

3. Identification and security of encampment sites

In consultation with the Parties, ECOMOG and the United Nations Observer Mission shall identify locations for encampment. Security of encampment sites shall be provided by ECOMOG, monitored and verified by United Nations observers.

SECTION G
Article 8
PEACE ENFORCEMENT POWERS

1. It is also agreed upon that ECOMOG shall have the right to self-defence where it has been physically attacked by any warring faction hereto.

2. There shall be established, upon deployment of ECOMOG and the full contingent of the United Nations Observer Mission, a Violation Committee consisting of one person from each of the parties hereto and ECOMOG and

the United Nations Observer Mission, chaired by a member of the United Nations Observer Mission.

3. All violations of the ceasefire shall be reported to the United Nations Observer Mission/observers who shall, immediately upon receipt of the information of violation, commence an investigation and make findings thereof. In the event the violations can be cured by the United Nations observers, they shall pursue such a course. However, should such a course not be possible, the United Nations observers shall submit their findings to the Violation Committee. The Violation Committee shall invite the violating party/(ies) for the purpose of having such party/(ies) take corrective measures to cure the violations within such time-frame as may be stipulated by the Committee. Should the violating party not take the required corrective measures, ECOMOG shall be informed thereof and shall thereupon resort to the use of its peace-enforcement powers against the violator.

SECTION H

Article 9

DEMOBILIZATION

1. The Parties hereby agree that any warring faction or factions that may have non-Liberian fighters or mercenaries shall repatriate such persons, or when found, upon evidence, shall be expelled by the Government of the Republic of Liberia.

2. Further, the Parties hereby call upon the United Nations, other international organizations and countries, to programme and finance the process of demobilization, retraining, rehabilitation and re-absorption of all former combatants to normal social and community life.

3. It is agreed by the Parties hereto that each party shall immediately commence a community information or educational programme, explaining to the public by means of communication devices or any form of media, the essence and purpose of the ceasefire, encampment, disarmament and demobilization. Such programme shall include other social institutions.

SECTION I

Article 10

PRISONERS-OF-WAR

The Parties hereby agree that upon signing of this Agreement all prisoners-of-war and detainees shall be immediately released to the Red Cross authority in an area where such prisoners or detainees are detained, for onward transmission to encampment sites or the authority of the prisoner-of-war or detainee. Common criminals are not covered by this provision.

SECTION J

Article 11

SUBMISSION BY PARTIES TO AUTHORITY OF TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT

Consistent with the provisions of paragraph 5 of article 14 of this Agreement, all Parties agree to submit themselves to the authority of the Transitional Government.

SECTION K

Article 12

SCHEDULE OF IMPLEMENTATION

Schedules of implementation of this Agreement, including a schedule for disarmament, encampment and demobilization of combatants, shall be drawn by ECOMOG and the United Nations observers. This schedule of implementation shall be given to each of the warring parties prior to implementation. The Parties undertake that they will create no obstacles to the full implementation of any of the foregoing activities.

PART II

Political Issues

SECTION A

Article 13

REVIEW AND REAFFIRMATION OF THE YAMOUSSOUKRO ACCORDS

The Parties to this Agreement reaffirm that the Yamoussoukro Accords provide the best framework for peace in Liberia, noting the links between the ECOWAS peace plan and the Yamoussoukro Accords.

SECTION B
Article 14
STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT

1. The Parties observe that Liberia is a unitary State and as such agree to form a single transitional Government, styled THE LIBERIA NATIONAL TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT. The authority of the transitional Government shall extend throughout the territorial limits of the Republic of Liberia.

2. The mandate of the transitional Government is to provide essential government services during the transitional period and to also hold and supervise general and presidential elections in accordance with the ECOWAS peace plan. The Transitional Legislature Assembly or the Council of State shall have power to enact or cause to be enacted any rule(s), regulation(s) or law, or take any action(s) which may facilitate the holding of free and fair democratic elections.

3. Formal installation of the Council of State shall take place in Monrovia, the capital city of the Republic of Liberia, and the Council of State shall also be permanently headquartered there.

4. The Parties further agree that the aforesaid transitional Government shall be selected in accordance with the below listed provisions and installed in approximately thirty (30) days of the date of signature of this Agreement, concomitant with the commencement of the disarmament process. Upon the installation of the transitional government, both IGNU and NPRAG shall cease to exist and shall be deemed dissolved.

5. The Parties further agree that the transitional Government shall operate as closely as practicable under the Constitution and laws of Liberia.

6. The Parties further agree, warrant and promise that from the date of signature of this Agreement, no loans shall be negotiated or contracted in the name of or on behalf of the Liberian Government except to ensure the carrying out of the operations and activities of governmental and other public services. All financial transactions entered into by the Transitional Government shall be formally submitted to the Transitional Legislative Assembly for ratification.

7. The Parties also agree that the transitional Government shall have three branches: legislative, executive and judicial.

Executive

(i) The Parties further agree that, during the transitional period, the executive powers of the Republic shall be vested in a five (5)-member Council of State which is hereby established. Each of the Parties shall appoint one (1) member to the Council, whilst the remaining two (2) shall be selected in accordance with the following procedure:

Each of the Parties shall nominate three (3) eminent Liberians who together shall select two (2) of their number to be additional members of the Council.

(ii) Each Party shall submit the name of its appointee to the Council and also the names of its three (3) nominees in accordance with the provisions of the preceding paragraph to the office of the current Chairman of ECOWAS within a period of seven (7) days from the date of signature of this Agreement. Copies of the list of these names shall also be forwarded to each of the Parties.

(iii) The Parties shall, not later than three (3) days from submission of the aforesaid names, jointly and mutually determine the time and venue for the selection of the two (2) additional members of the Council. This entire selection process shall not exceed ten (10) days after the determination of the time and place of the meeting. If at the appointed place and time, any of the nominees fail to appear, the nominating party shall forfeit its right to renominate any other person(s), and the selection process shall proceed.

(iv) Proof of the selection of the two additional Council members shall be made by a written statement signed by all the nominees (excluding the two nominees selected) who participated in the selection process confirming same. The statement shall be forwarded to the current Chairman of ECOWAS with copy to each of the Parties.

(v) The Council shall select from amongst its members a Chairman and two (2) Vice-Chairmen.

(vi) The Council shall conduct and be responsible for the day-to-day operation of Government. All decisions shall be made by consensus of all the members.

(vii) The Council shall also devise and implement appropriate procedural rules in respect of its operation.

(viii) The Parties shall, in consultation with each other, determine the allocation of cabinet posts.

Judicial

8. The Parties further agree that for purposes of continuity, there shall be no change in the existing structure of the Supreme Court. ULIMO shall have the right to nominate the fifth member of the Court to fill the vacancy which currently exists. The nominee by ULIMO to the Supreme Court shall meet the established criteria and successfully undergo a screening by his or her peers in the Court.

Legislature

9. The Parties agree that the Transitional Legislative Assembly shall be a unicameral body composed of thirty-five (35) members. Both IGNU and NPFL shall each be entitled to thirteen (13) members, and ULIMO nine (9) members. The Parties agree that ULIMO shall have the right to nominate the Speaker from one of its members in the Assembly.

SECTION C
Article 15
ELECTIONS MODALITIES

1. The Parties agree that, in order to enhance the inclusive nature of the transitional Government, ULIMO shall have the right to nominate two members to the Elections Commission, thus expanding the existing Elections Commission to seven (7) members. For the purpose of continuity the present structure shall remain the same.

2. Supreme Court: The Supreme Court shall adjudicate all matters arising out of the elections during the transition, in accordance with the Constitution and laws of the country.

3. Voters registration: Voters Registration shall commence as soon as possible having due regard for the need to expedite repatriation.

4. Observers and Monitors: The transitional Government and the Elections Commission will work out the modalities for the participation of observers and monitors in the electoral process.

5. Financing: Financing will be sought from the national and international communities.

6. The Parties agree that the elections to be conducted shall conform to the several United Nations and internationally accepted codes of conduct and the Elections Commission shall, accordingly be guided thereby.

SECTION D
Article 16
TENURE AND MANDATE OF THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT

1. The transitional Government shall be installed approximately one month after the signing of this Agreement, concomitant with the commencement of the disarmament process.

2. The transitional Government shall have a life span of approximately six (6) months commencing from the date of its installation.

3. General and presidential elections shall take place approximately seven (7) months from the signature of this Agreement.

4. Holders of positions of leadership within the Transitional Government (i.e. members of the Council of State, Supreme Court Justice; members of the Elections Commission, Cabinet Ministers, members of the Transitional Legislative Assembly, Managing Directors or Heads of Public Corporations and Autonomous Agencies) shall be ineligible to contest the election provided for in paragraph 3 of this article.

SECTION E
Article 17
HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE

The Parties agree that every effort should be made to deliver humanitarian assistance to all Liberians, particularly children, who are malnourished and suffering from related diseases. Convoys of humanitarian assistance should travel to all areas of Liberia through the most direct routes, under inspection to ensure compliance with the sanctions and embargo provisions of this Agreement.

SECTION F
Article 18
REPATRIATION OF REFUGEES

1. The Parties hereby commit themselves immediately and permanently to bring to an end any further external or internal displacement of Liberians and to create the conditions that will allow all refugees and displaced persons to, respectively, voluntarily repatriate and return to Liberia to their places of origin or habitual residence under conditions of safety and dignity.

2. The Parties further call upon Liberian refugees and displaced persons to return to Liberia and to their places of origin or habitual residence and declare that they shall not be jeopardized in any ethnic, political, religious, regional or geographical considerations.

3. The Parties also call upon the relevant organizations of the United Nations system, particularly the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the United Nations Development Programme, other intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, to implement programmes for the voluntary repatriation, return and reintegration of the Liberian refugees and internally displaced persons.

4. The Parties proclaim that they shall, jointly or individually, cooperate in all necessary ways with themselves and with the above-mentioned organizations in order to facilitate the repatriation, return and reintegration of the refugees and displaced persons. Amongst others, they agree to:

(a) Establish all necessary mechanisms or arrangements, such as joint repatriation committees, which would facilitate contacts, communications and work with the relevant organizations for purposes of implementing the repatriation, return and reintegration operation and to enable effective decision-making and implementation of the relevant activities;

(b) Facilitate access by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and other organizations to the refugees and displaced persons who have returned so as to deliver the necessary humanitarian assistance and programmes and monitor their situation;

(c) Guarantee and provide security to the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the other relevant organizations, their staff, vehicles, equipment and resources necessary to carry out their work;

(d) Provide all other necessary facilities and support that will be necessary to facilitate the implementation of the return, voluntary repatriation and reintegration of refugees and displaced persons.

SECTION G
Article 19
GENERAL AMNESTY

The Parties hereby agree that upon the execution of this Agreement there shall be a general amnesty granted to all persons and parties involved in the Liberian civil conflict in the course of actual military engagements. Accordingly, acts committed by the Parties or by their forces while in actual combat or on authority of any of the Parties in the course of actual combat are hereby granted amnesty. Similarly, the Parties agree that business transactions legally carried out by any of the Parties hereto with private business institutions in accordance with the laws of Liberia shall in like manner be covered by the amnesty herein granted.

DONE AT COTONOU, REPUBLIC OF BENIN, IN SEVEN ORIGINAL COPIES

THIS TWENTY-FIFTH DAY OF JULY 1993

(Signed) Amos Claudius SAYWER
President of the Interim Government of National Unity of Liberia, for and on behalf of the Interim Government of National Unity of Liberia (IGNU)

(Signed) Enoch DOGOLEA
Vice-President of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia, for and on behalf of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL/NPRAG)

(Signed) Major-General Alhaji G. V. KROMAH
Leader of the United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy, for and on behalf of the United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO)

(Signed) His Excellency Nicephore Dieudonne SOGLO
President of the Republic of Benin and Current Chairman of ECOWAS

(Signed) Dr. James O. C. JONAH
Under-Secretary-General, Department of Political Affairs, United Nations Secretariat, for and on behalf of the Secretary-General of the United Nations

(Signed) Rev. Canaan BANANA
OAU Eminent Person for Liberia, for and on behalf of the Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity

LETTER DATED 14 OCTOBER 1994 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF GHANA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

(S/1994/1174, 16 October 1994)

Upon instructions from my Government, I transmit herewith the text of the Akosombo agreement made and entered into on 12 September 1994, between the three warring factions in Liberia, namely the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) represented by and through its leader Mr. Charles G. Taylor; the United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO), represented by and through its leader, Lt.-Gen. Alhaji G. V. Kromah; and the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL), represented by and through its Chief of Staff, Lt.-Gen. J. Hezekiah Bowen, at Akosombo, Ghana.

It would be appreciated if you could circulate this agreement as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) George O. LAMPTEY
Permanent Representative

Annex
AKOSOMBO AGREEMENT

This Agreement, which supplements and amends the Cotonou Agreement, is made and entered into on this 12th day of September 1994 by and between the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), represented by and through its leader Charles G. Taylor (hereinafter referred to as "the party of the first part"), the United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO), represented by and through its leader Lt. Gen. Alhaji G. V. Kromah (hereinafter referred to as "the party of the second part"), and the Armed Forces of Liberia represented by and through its Chief of Staff Lt.-Gen. J. Hezekiah Bowen (hereinafter referred to as "the party of the third part"), hereby:

WITNESSETH:

PREAMBLE

NPFL, ULIMO and AFL reaffirm their acceptance of the Cotonou agreement as the framework for peace in Liberia.

However, having realized the slow pace in the full implementation of the Cotonou agreement, resulting from the failure of disarmament and the inability of the Liberia National Transitional Government (LNTG) to achieve the objective of its mandate within a six-month period as set forth under section B, article 14 (2), of the said Cotonou agreement: and

Having noted with grave concern the protracted human suffering and the undue hardships to which the people of Liberia (inside and outside the country) have been overly subjected as a result of the senseless Liberian civil crisis: and

Having realized the urgent need to bring this ugly civil crisis to an immediate and lasting end:

Do hereby agree to the following:

Part I
MILITARY ISSUES
Declaration
SECTION A
Article 1

Count 1 is amended to read as follows:

The parties to this agreement hereby agree and declare a ceasefire and the cessation of hostilities effective as of the signing of this amendment.

SECTION B
Article 3
SUPERVISORY AND MONITORING AUTHORITY

Count 1 is amended to read: That the Liberia National Transitional Government, the Economic Community of West African States Military Observer Group (ECOMOG) and the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) in collaboration shall supervise and monitor the implementation of this Agreement.

The parties hereby expressly recognize the neutrality and authority of ECOMOG and UNOMIL in respect of the foregoing.

Accordingly, the Liberia National Transitional Government shall ensure that ECOMOG and UNOMIL shall enjoy complete freedom of movement throughout Liberia.

SECTION C
Article 4
TERMS AND CONDITIONS

Count 4 is amended to read: The Liberia National Transitional Government, in collaboration with ECOMOG and UNOMIL, shall ensure that all points of entry, including sea ports, airfields and roads, shall be monitored and supervised.

Count 5 is amended to read: The warring parties shall undertake to disengage and move to designated assembly points within the time-frame in the schedule to be attached to this document.

Count 6: That the Liberia National Transitional Government shall enter into a status-of-forces agreement with ECOWAS within 30 days from the signing of this Agreement.

Count 7: That the existing status-of-mission agreement already executed with the United Nations (UNOMIL) is herein incorporated by reference and is applicable.

SECTION D
Article 5
ACTS OF VIOLATION

Count 2 is amended to read: The following acts shall constitute violations of the Agreement:

Subsection (b): Any change or improvement of existing positions aimed at acquiring territory.

Subsection (c): Any deliberate discharge (whether with conventional or unconventional weapons) against the position of any warring party by another, or firing at any individual or property or any seizure or abduction of individuals and properties.

Subsection (f): While the right to communication shall not be abridged, any proven use of communication devices, facilities or propaganda designed to incite or having the effect of inciting hostilities between any of the warring parties.

Subsection (h): Obstruction of the implementation of any of the provisions of the Agreement by any party and/or individual.

Subsection (i): Harassments, intimidations, or attacks upon any official of the Liberia National Transitional Government, relief organizations, ECOMOG, UNOMIL, the Ceasefire Violations Committee as well as individuals.

Subsection (j): Obstruction of the activities of the Liberia National Transitional Government, ECOMOG, UNOMIL and the Ceasefire Violations Committee.

Subsection (k): The facilitation or creation of new or splinter armed groups. To this end, any individual or group of individuals suspected of creating or assisting to create any new armed or splinter group or facilitating existing splinter group(s) (directly or indirectly) shall:

1. Not be recognized under the Cotonou Agreement.

2. Shall be disarmed and disbanded by ECOMOG in collaboration with the Liberia National Transitional Government verified by UNOMIL.

3. Thereafter be prosecuted under the laws of Liberia.

SECTION E
Article 6
DISARMAMENT

The introductory paragraph is hereby amended to read: the ultimate objective of disarmament under the Cotonou Agreement being primarily to create a security environment conducive to absolute peace in order to have free and fair elections in the country, NPFL, ULIMO and AFL hereby agree to disarm to ECOMOG with the cooperation of the Liberia National Transitional Government and monitored and verified by UNOMIL in accordance with the schedule to be attached to this Agreement. The parties further mandate the Liberia National Transitional Government to begin the formation of appropriate national security structures to facilitate the disarmament process. Accordingly, appropriate measures shall be undertaken to enable AFL to assume its character as a national army. Until such measures are completed, AFL, like all other parties and warring groups, shall be completely disarmed in accordance with the Cotonou Agreement. In order to ensure a secure environment for the proper functioning of the unified Government in Monrovia, the Liberia National Transitional Government, in collaboration with ECOMOG, shall ensure that no group or individuals bear arms in the perimeter of the capital. However, the personal security of the leaders of the warring parties shall be reflected in the status-of-forces agreement.

Count 4 is amended to read: Each of the warring parties shall ensure that its combatants report all weapons and warlike materials to ECOMOG, which would be inventoried by ECOMOG, monitored and verified by the Liberia National Transitional Government and UNOMIL. Upon proper inventory, such weapons and warlike materials shall be taken by ECOMOG to the designated armouries, monitored and verified by UNOMIL and the Liberia National Transitional Government.

Count 5 is amended to read: All non-combatants who are in possession of weapons and warlike materials shall also report and surrender same to ECOMOG, monitored and verified by the Liberia National Transitional Government and UNOMIL. Such weapons and warlike materials shall be returned to the owners after due registration, licensing and certification by the governing authority after elections.

Count 7 is amended to read: For the sole purpose of maintaining the ceasefire, ECOMOG shall conduct any search to recover lost or hidden weapons, observed and monitored by UNOMIL and the Liberia National Transitional Government.

SECTION F
Article 7
ENCAMPMENT

Count 1 is amended to read: The parties agree and fully commit themselves to the encampment of their combatants, and maintenance of command and control in encampment centres, established by ECOMOG, UNOMIL and the Liberia National Transitional Government in collaboration with the parties. The encampment centres shall, in addition to disarmament and demobilization, serve as transit points for the further education, training and rehabilitation of said combatants.

SECTION G
Article 8
PEACE ENFORCEMENT POWERS

The following amendments are hereby made, to wit:

1. That in the event any party, new armed group or splinter group and/or individuals refuse to desist from acts in violation of the Agreement, the Liberia National Transitional Government, in collaboration with ECOMOG, shall have the power to use the necessary force available to compel compliance.

2. All violations of the ceasefire shall be reported to UNOMIL, which shall, on immediate receipt of the information or violation, commence an investigation and make findings thereof. In the event the violation can be cured by the party, UNOMIL shall pursue such a course. However, should such a course not be possible, UNOMIL shall submit its findings to the Ceasefire Violations Committee. The Violations Committee shall invite the violating party(ies) for the purpose of having such party(ies) take corrective measures to cure violations within such timeframe as may be stipulated by the Committee. Should the violating party not take the required corrective measures, and the use of peace enforcement powers are recommended against the violator, the Liberia National Transitional Government, in collaboration with ECOMOG, shall thereupon take the necessary action.

SECTION H
Article 9
DEMOBILIZATION

Count 2 is amended to read: Further, the parties hereby call upon the Liberia National Transitional Government, the United Nations, the Organization of African Unity, ECOWAS and other international organizations and countries, to design a programme which recognizes the peculiarities of the parties and finance the process of demobilization, retraining, rehabilitation and reintegration of all former combatants to normal social and community life.

Count 3 is amended to read: It is agreed that the Liberia National Transitional Government, in collaboration with the parties, shall immediately commence a community information or educational programme, explaining to the public by means of communication devices or any form of media, the essence and purpose of ceasefire, encampment, disarmament and demobilization. Such programme shall include other social institutions.

Count 4: Internal security arrangements, including police, customs and immigration, will be put in place immediately. Planning for restructuring and training of AFL will be the responsibility of the Liberia National Transitional Government, with the assistance of ECOWAS, the United Nations and friendly Governments.

SECTION K
Article 12
SCHEDULE OF IMPLEMENTATION

This article is amended to read: The attached schedule of implementation to be attached to this Agreement, including disarmament, encampment and demobilization of combatants, preparation of a status-of-forces agreement, restructuring of AFL and dissolution of the parties drawn up by ECOMOG and UNOMIL in collaboration with the Parties, shall be given to each of the Parties prior to implementation. The Parties undertake that they will create no obstacles to the full implementation of any of the foregoing activities.

Part II
Political Issues
SECTION A

Section B, article 14 (7), is hereby amended to read thus:

EXECUTIVE

(i) The Parties further agree that, during the transitional period leading up to inauguration of an elected Government, the executive powers of the Republic shall be vested in a five-member Council of State which is hereby established. Each of the Parties (AFL, NPFL and ULIMO) shall point one member to the Council and the remaining two, representing unarmed Liberians, shall be chosen from among prominent Liberians, one appointed by the Liberian National Conference recently convened in Monrovia and the other by NPFL and ULIMO. The designation of Chairman and two Vice-Chairmen shall be determined through a process of elections to be carried out within seven days of the signing of this Agreement. The new Council of State will be inducted under the auspices of the Chairman of ECOWAS or his representative within 14 days of the signing of this Agreement.

(ii) The Council of State shall conduct and be responsible for the day-to-day operations of government. All decisions shall be made on the basis of a simple majority.

(iii) The Council shall also devise and implement appropriate rules of procedure in respect of its operations, to be signed by all members on the occasion of their induction into office.

(iv) The Parties hereby agree that the allocation of ministries, public corporations and autonomous agencies as agreed by the Parties in Cotonou, Benin, on 3 to 5 November 1993 shall be maintained, taking into account existing factions in respect of existing vacancies. All boards of public corporations shall be constituted in accordance with the acts creating said corporations.

(v) In the case where the executive post is allocated to one party, the two deputy posts shall be allocated to the two other parties. In the case where there are more than two deputy posts in a given ministry, public corporation or autonomous agency, the Council of State shall point qualified Liberian citizens to occupy the third and/or remaining deputy posts.

(vi) The Council of State shall also exercise its executive prerogative powers to appoint qualified citizens in all other subordinate presidential appointed posts in government as may be provided by law in consultation with the parties.

(vii) Each of the parties shall have the right to review the status of its appointees in the Liberia National Transitional Government through the Council of State and any change in appointment by the Council of State should follow as closely as possible the constitutional procedures. Once appointments have been made to the Council of State changes can be effected only for cause and then consistent with existing laws.

Legislature

SECTION B
Article 14

Count (9) is amended to read:

(i) That the Parties agree that the Transitional Legislative Assembly shall be a unicameral body composed of 48 members. The Transitional Legislative Assembly is expanded by 13 eminent citizens selected through the Ministry of Internal Affairs from each of the 13 counties, and appointed by the Council of State.

(ii) The Parties further agree that the Transitional Legislative Assembly shall give consideration to providing appropriate benefits for the heads of warring parties.

Article 16 is hereby amended to read:

(2) Is hereby amended to read: That the transitional Government shall have a life-span of approximately 16

months commencing from the date of installation of the five-member Council of State.

(3) Is hereby amended to read: That general and presidential elections shall take place on 10 October 1995, and the newly elected Government shall be installed on the first Monday of 1996.

SECTION H
Article 20

The Parties agree that all provisions of the Cotonou Agreement not amended here are herein incorporated by reference and the same are hereby applicable and remain in full force and effect except for the below listed provisions:

(1) Part I, section A, art. 2

(2) Part I, section B, art. 3, count 3

(3) Section D, article 5 (d)

(4) Part II, section A, article 13

(5) Part 2, section B, articles 14, 4, 6, 7 (i), (ii), (iii), (iv)

DONE AT AKOSOMBO, REPUBLIC OF GHANA,
THIS 12TH DAY OF SEPTEMBER 1994

(Signed) Charles G. TAYLOR
Leader
National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL)

(Signed) Lt.-Gen. Alhaji G. V. KROMAH
National Chairman
United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO)

(Signed) Lt.-Gen. J. Hezekiah BOWEN
Chief of Staff
Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL)

WITNESSED BY

(Signed) For H.E. Flt. Lt. J. J. RAWLINGS
President of the Republic of Ghana and Current Chairman of ECOWAS

(Signed) Trevor GORDON-SOMERS
Special Representative of the
United Nations Secretary-General in Liberia

LETTER DATED 5 JANUARY 1995 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF GHANA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

(S/1995/7, 5 January 1995)

Upon instructions of my Government, I transmit herewith, the texts of two documents:

(a) An acceptance and accession agreement (see annex I);

(b) An agreement on the clarification of the Akosombo agreement (S/1994/1174, annex) (see annex II);

both made and entered into at Accra on Wednesday, 21 December 1994, by the warring factions in the Liberian conflict, represented respectively by Mr. François Massaquoi, Lofa Defense Force (LDF); Mr. G. E. Saigbe Boley, Sr., Liberian Peace Council (LPC); Mr. J. Thomas Woewiyu, Central Revolutionary Council (CRC-NPFL); Maj. Gen. Roosevelt Johnson, United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO); and Counsellor J. D. Bayogar Junius, Liberia National Conference (LNC); and by Mr. Charles G. Taylor, Leader, National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL); Lt.-Gen. Alhaji G. V. Kromah, National Chairman, (ULIMO); and Lt.-Gen. J. Hezekiah Bowen, Chief of Staff, Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL). The Agreements were attested to by H. E. Flt.-Lt. Jerry John Rawlings, President of the Republic of Ghana and current Chairman of the Economic Community of West African States.

It would be appreciated if you could circulate the present letter and the agreements as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) George O. LAMPTEY
Permanent Representative

Annex I
ACCEPTANCE AND ACCESSION AGREEMENT

This acceptance and accession undertaking made and entered into this twenty-first day of December AD 1994 by the Lofa Defense Force (LDF), represented by Mr. François Massaquoi; the Liberian Peace Council (LPC), represented by Mr. G. E. Saigbe Boley, Sr.; the Central Revolutionary Council (CRC-NPFL), represented by J. Thomas Woewiyu; the United Liberation Movement of

Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO), represented by Major General Roosevelt Johnson; the Liberia National Conference (LNC), represented by Counsellor J. D. Bayogar Junius, all of whom are hereinafter collectively referred to as the non-signatories to the Akosombo agreement, hereby:

WITNESSETH:

WHEREAS, an agreement, referred to as the "Akosombo agreement", was made and entered into on the twelfth day of September, by and between the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL); the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL) and ULIMO, in an effort to establish a ceasefire, facilitate disarmament, encampment and demobilization, and pave the way for a free and fair election; and

WHEREAS, the non-signatories to the Akosombo agreement did not participate in the discussions leading to the Akosombo agreement; and

WHEREAS, a need arose for further discussions between the signatories to the Akosombo agreement for clarification and expansion of the provisions therein with a view to facilitating the acceptance and the implementation of the agreement, in which said discussions the non-signatories fully participated; and

WHEREAS, after intense discussions and negotiations between the parties to the Akosombo agreement and the non-signatories thereto, the non-signatories have agreed to accept the terms and conditions of the Akosombo agreement with the clarifications thereto as set forth and contained in the agreement on the clarification of the said Akosombo agreement;

NOW, THEREFORE, the non-signatories to the Akosombo agreement, in consideration of their participation in the discussions on the clarification of the Akosombo agreement, and in further consideration of the political arrangements agreed upon and accepted by them, agree as follows, to wit:

1. That the Lofa Defense Force (LDF), the Liberian Peace Council (LPC) and the Central Revolutionary Council (CRC-NPFL), in their individual capacities; the LNC, and ULIMO agree to accept and to accede to, and by this document hereby accept and accede to the Akosombo agreement and the agreement on clarification of the aforesaid Akosombo agreement.

2. That the non-signatories commit themselves individually and collectively to the terms and conditions of the Akosombo agreement and the agreement on clarification of the said agreement, and undertake fully to implement and discharge all the tasks and the responsibilities, and to abide by all the terms and conditions as set forth and contained under the said Akosombo agreement, and the agreement on clarification of the said Akosombo agreement, as if they were signatories thereto and/or specifically named therein.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, THE PARTIES HERETO

have hereunto set their hands and affixed their signatures this twenty-first day of December AD 1994 in the City of Accra, Republic of Ghana:

ULIMO
(Signed) Roosevelt JOHNSON
Represented by and through its Chairman
Major General Roosevelt JOHNSON

Lofa Defense Force (LDF)
(Signed) François MASSAQUOI
Represented by and through its Leader,
François MASSAQUOI

Liberian Peace Council (LPC)
(Signed) G. E. SAIGBE BOLEY, SR.
Represented by and through its
Chairman, Mr. G. E. SAIGBE BOLEY, SR.

The Central Revolutionary Council (CRC-NPFL)
(Signed) Jucontee Thomas WOEWIYU
Represented by and through its
Chairman, Jucontee Thomas WOEWIYU

Liberia National Conference (LNC)
(Signed) J. D. Bayogar JUNIUS
Represented by and through its Chairman
Counsellor J. D. Bayogar JUNIUS

Attested to:

(Signed) Jerry John RAWLINGS
H.E. Flt. Lt. Jerry John Rawlings
President of the Republic of Ghana
and Current Chairman of ECOWAS

Annex II

AGREEMENT ON THE CLARIFICATION OF THE AKOSOMBO AGREEMENT

This agreement on the clarification of the Akosombo Agreement made this twenty-first day of December AD 1994 is intended to clarify and expand pertinent provisions of the said Akosombo agreement.

SECTION A
Article 1
CEASEFIRE

The Parties to this agreement hereby declare a ceasefire and the cessation of hostilities effective as of 2359 hours on the twenty-eighth day of December 1994.

SECTION C
Article 4
TERMS AND CONDITIONS
(SAFE HAVENS AND BUFFER ZONES)

Consistent with section C, article 4, count 5, of the Akosombo agreement, the parties agree to facilitate the establishment of safe havens and buffer zones throughout Liberia in accordance with a plan to be drawn up by the Liberian National Transitional Government (LNTG) in collaboration with the United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) and the Economic Community of West African States Military Observer Group (ECOMOG) in consultation with the parties. In this connection, the deployment of ECOMOG and UNOMIL, the establishment of buffer zones, safe havens and other measures necessary to restore normalcy throughout the territory of Liberia, shall be undertaken in accordance with the Cotonou and Akosombo agreements.

In keeping with section C, article 4, count 6, LNTG shall enter into a status-of-forces agreement with ECOWAS within seven (7) days as of the seating of the Council of State established under this agreement.

SECTION H
Article 9
DEMOBILIZATION

Consistent with section H, article 9, count 4, of the Akosombo agreement it is agreed by the parties that in the reorganization of the Armed Forces of Liberia, the police, immigration and other security agencies, the combatants and non-combatants who satisfy conditions for recruitment shall be considered for inclusion. In this connection, the Council of State established under the Akosombo agreement clarified by this agreement shall establish appropriate committees which will be charged with determining the criteria for recruitment, taking advantage of the relevant expertise of ECOMOG and UNOMIL.

SECTION K
Article 12
SCHEDULE OF IMPLEMENTATION

The parties hereby agree to abide by the schedule of implementation attached hereto and incorporated herein by reference.

Part II
Political Issues
SECTION A
(EXECUTIVE)

Consistent with part II, section A (i), of the Akosombo agreement, the provisions for the function and structure of the five-member Council of State provided for in the Cotonou and Akosombo agreements are hereby reconfirmed.

The procedure for the appointment of the relevant officials of Government as enshrined in the Akosombo agreement is hereby reaffirmed. Such officials shall be appointed based on merit.

The parties agree that a five-member Council of State shall be established.

The first four members of the new Council of State shall be appointed as follows:

National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) 1

United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO) 1

Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL)/Coalition 1

Liberia National Conference (LNC) 1

The fifth member of the Council of State shall be a traditional chief selected by NPFL and ULIMO in the person of the Honourable Tamba Tailor in accordance with part II, section A (i), of the Akosombo agreement and agreed by the parties.

Consistent with part II, section A (i), of the Akosombo agreement, induction of the Council of State shall take place in the City of Monrovia under the auspices of the Chairman of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) or his designee within fourteen (14) days as of the ceasefire date.

SECTION H

Article 20

Consistent with section H, article 20, of the Akosombo agreement, the parties reaffirm the acceptance of the ECOWAS peace plan, including the Cotonou and Akosombo agreements, as the best framework for peace in Liberia.

All provisions of the Akosombo agreement not herein clarified remain in full force and effect.

DONE AT ACCRA, REPUBLIC OF GHANA, THIS TWENTY-FIRST DAY OF DECEMBER AD 1994

(Signed) Charles G. TAYLOR
Leader
National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL)

(Signed) Lt.-Gen. Alhaji G. V. KROMAH
National Chairman
United Liberation Movement of Liberia (ULIMO)

(Signed) Lt.-Gen. J. Hezekiah BOWEN
Chief of Staff
Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL)

Attested to:

(Signed) H.E. Flt. Lt. Jerry John RAWLINGS
President of the Republic of Ghana and
Current Chairman of ECOWAS

Attachment
Schedule of implementation of the Akosombo Agreement from ceasefire to elections (26 December 1994 — 14 November 1995)

Period														
Serial number	Weeks	Dec. 94	Jan. 95	Feb. 95	Mar. 95	Apr. 95	May 95	Jun. 95	Jul. 95	Aug. 95	Sep. 95	Oct. 95	Nov. 95	Dec. 95
(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)	(j)	(k)	(l)	(m)	(n)	(o)
1	2	28....	11	Factions inform combatants of ceasefire										
2	3		12.....	4	Factions disengage from check points/present combat positions to areas under own arrangements									
3	3		12.....	4	Verification by ECOMOG/UNOMIL/LNTG/warring factions									
4	2		21.....	7	Reconnaissance mission/build-up of logistics-ECOMOG/UNOMIL/LNTG									
5	10			8.....	.....	21	Deployment of ECOMOG/UNOMIL/to safe havens throughout the country							
6	4			13.....	13	Completion/preparation for new assembly/encampment sites								
7	4				1.....	30	Combatants in assembly/encampment sites							
8	8					1.....	30	Disarmament/demobilization						
9	9					1.....	.....	7	Resettlement/repatriation					
10	Preparations for elections							8.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	11	
11												Election day	14	

Notes:
Ceasefire — 2359 hours 28 December 1994 (Midnight 28/29 December 1994)
Installation of new Council of State
Election Day — 14 November 1995
Inauguration of new Government — 1 January 1996

LETTER DATED 25 AUGUST 1995 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF NIGERIA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

(S/1995/742, 28 August 1995)

I have the honour to send, on behalf of the Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, a copy of the "Abuja Agreement to supplement the Cotonou and Akosombo Agreements as subsequently clarified by the Accra Agreement". This latest Agreement was signed at Abuja, Nigeria, by the leaders of the factions involved in the conflict in Liberia, in August 1995. In view of the significance which the Nigerian Government attaches to the Agreement, I would be grateful if the text could be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Ibrahim A. GAMBARI
Ambassador, Permanent Representative

Annex

Abuja Agreement to Supplement the Cotonou and Akosombo Agreements as subsequently clarified by the Accra Agreement

This Agreement amends and supplements the Cotonou Accord, the Akosombo Agreement and its Accra Clarification.

Section A
Article I
Ceasefire

The Parties to this Agreement hereby declare a ceasefire and the cessation of hostilities effective at 12 o'clock midnight 26 August 1995.

Section K
Article 12
Schedule of Implementation

The Parties hereby agree to abide by the schedule of implementation attached to the Agreement on the Clarification of the Akosombo Agreement with such

Part II
Political Issues
Section A

Executive

(i)The Parties agree that during the transitional period leading to the inauguration of an elected government, the executive powers of the Republic of Liberia shall be vested in a six-member Council of State to be composed as follows:

(a) National Patriotic Front of Liberia — Mr. Charles Ghankay Taylor
(b) United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO) — LTG. Alhaji G. V. Kromah
(c) COALITION — Dr. George E. S. Boley Sr.
(d) Liberian National Conference (LNC) — Oscar Jaryee Quiah
(e) — Chief Tamba Tailor
(f) — Mr. Wilton Sankawolo

(ii)The Chairman of the Council shall be Mr. Wilton Sankawolo. All other members of the Council shall be Vice-Chairmen of equal status. In case of permanent incapacitation a new Chairman shall be appointed within the framework of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).

(iii)The Parties hereby agree that the allocation of ministries, public corporations and autonomous agencies agreed by the Parties in Cotonou, Benin, on 3-5 November 1993 shall be maintained. The Parties, however, agree that the allocations for the erstwhile IGNU shall revert to the Liberian Peace Council (LPC)/COALITION. LTG Hezekiah Bowen, François Massaquoi, Thomas Woewiyu, Laveli Supuwood and Samuel Dokie shall be given ministerial or other senior government positions.

General Roosevelt Johnson's wing of ULIMO (ULIMO-J) shall occupy the following positions:

Ministries
1.Minister of State for Presidential Affairs
2.Minister of Transport
3.Minister of Rural Development
4.Minister of State Without Portfolio

Public corporations/autonomous agencies
1.National Bank

3.Agricultural Industrial Training Board (AIIB)
4.Forestry Development Authority (FDA)

Deputy ministers
1.Ministry of Post and Telecommunication
2.Ministry of Justice
3.Ministry of Education
4.Ministry of Information

Deputy managing directors/deputy directors general
1.NICOL National Insurance Corporation of Liberia
2.NHA National Housing Authority
3.LWSC Liberia Water and Sewage Corporation
4.NHSB National Housing and Savings Bank
5.FS Fire Service
6.GA General Auditing
7.IPA Institute of Public Administration
8.NFAA National Food Assistance Agency

Section C
Article 15
Elections modalities

1.The operations of the Elections Commission shall be monitored by ECOWAS, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the United Nations.

Section D
Article 16
Tenure and mandate of the Transitional Government

1.The Transitional Government hereby established shall be installed within 14 days after the signing of this Agreement.

2.The Transitional Government shall have a life span of approximately twelve (12) months commencing from the date of its installation.

3.Holders of positions within the Transitional Government as defined by the Cotonou Accord who wish to contest the election provided for under the Schedule of Implementation shall vacate office three months before the date of elections. They shall be replaced by their nominees or by persons nominated by the parties represented in the Council of State.

4.The Chairman of the Council of State shall be ineligible to contest the first Presidential and Parliamentary elections to be held pursuant to this Agreement.

Section G
Article 8
Peace enforcement powers

1.Enforcement of violations of ceasefire shall be in accordance with the terms of the Cotonou Accord.

All provisions of the Cotonou and Akosombo Agreements as clarified by the Accra Agreement not herein amended shall remain in full force and effect.

Done at Abuja, Federal Republic of Nigeria, this nineteenth day of August 1995.

(*Signed*) Charles Ghankay TAYLOR
Leader, National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL)

(*Signed*) Ltg. Alhaji G. V. KROMAH
National Chairman, United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO)

(*Signed*) Dr. G. E. Saigbe BOLEY Sr.
Leader, Liberia Peace Council (LPC)

(*Signed*) Ltg. J. Hezekiah BOWEN
Armed Forces of Liberia

(*Signed*) Major-General Roosevelt JOHNSON
United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO-J)

(*Signed*) François MASSAQUOI
Lofa Defence Force (LDF)

(*Signed*) Thomas WOEWIYU
National Patriotic Front of Liberia-Central Revolutionary Council (NPFL-CRC)

(*Signed*) Chea CHEAPOO
Liberia National Conference (LNC)

Witnessed by

(*Signed*) Dr. Obed ASAMOAH, for and on behalf of His Excellency Flt-Lt. Jerry John Rawlings, President of the Republic of Ghana and hairman of ECOWAS

(*Signed*) Chief Tom IKIMI, for and on behalf of His Excellency General Sani Abacha, Head of State, Commander-in-Chief of the Nigerian Armed Forces

(*Signed*) H.E. President Canaan BANANA
Organization of African Unity Eminent Person in Liberia

(*Signed*) H.E. Anthony B. NYAKYI
Special Representative to Liberia of the United Nations

Annex I
Schedule of Implementation of the Agreement from ceasefire to election -
August 1995 — August 1996

Period														
Step	Weeks	Aug. 95	Sep. 95	Oct. 95	Nov. 95	Dec. 95	Jan. 96	Feb. 96	Mar. 96	Apr. 96	May. 96	Jun. 96	Jul. 96	Aug. 96
(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)	(h)	(i)	(j)	(k)	(l)	(m)	(n)	(o)
1	2	26....	4	Factions inform combatants of ceasefire										
2	3		5-26	Factions disengage from checkpoints/present combat positions to areas under own arrangements										
3	3		5-26	Verification by ECOMOG/UNOMIL/LNTG/warring factions										
4	2		15-30	Recce mission/build-up of logistics ECOMOG/UNOMIL/LNTG										
5	10			2.....	.....	14	Deployment of ECOMOG/UNOMIL to safe havens throughout counties							
6	4			8.....	8	Completion/preparation for new assembly/encampment sites								
7	4				9.....	31	Combatants in assembly/encampment sites							
8	8					1.....	30	Disarmament/demobilization						
9	9					1.....	.....	2	Resettlement/repatriation					
10					Preparation for elections				1.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	12
11											Election day		.....	20

Notes:

1. Ceasefire — 2359 hours, 26 August 1995 (midnight 26/27 August 1995)
2. Installation of new Council of State — by 2 September 1995
3. Election Day — 20 August 1996
4. Inauguration of new Government — 30 September 1996

LETTER DATED 21 AUGUST 1996 FROM THE CHARGÉ D'AFFAIRES A.I. OF THE PERMANENT MISSION OF NIGERIA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

(S/1996/679, 21 August 1996)

I have the honour to forward, on behalf of His Excellency, General Sani Abacha, Head of State of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and Chairman of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the text of the final communiqué issued at the end of the fourth meeting of Heads of State and Government of the ECOWAS Committee of Nine on Liberia, which was held at Abuja, Nigeria, on 17 August 1996. I would be grateful if the text could be circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Isaac E. AYEWAH
Ambassador, Chargé d'affaires, a.i.

Annex

Final communiqué of the Heads of State and Government of the Economic Community of West African States Committee of Nine on Liberia, on its fourth meeting, held at Abuja on 17 August 1996

1.The Heads of State and Government of the Committee of Nine on Liberia held their fourth meeting at the Executive Secretariat of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) at Abuja on 17 August 1996, under the chairmanship of His Excellency, General Sani Abacha, Head of State, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and current Chairman of the ECOWAS Authority. The Heads of State and Government reviewed the situation in Liberia and considered ways to put the Liberian peace process back on course, in conformity with the Abuja Accord.

2.The following Heads of State and Government or their duly accredited representatives were present at the meeting:

His Excellency Matthieu Kerekou
President of the Republic of Benin
Head of Government

His Excellency Blaise Compaore
President of Burkina Faso
Head of Government

His Excellency Jerry John Rawlings
President of the Republic of Ghana

His Excellency General Sani Abacha
Head of State, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Federal Republic of Nigeria

His Excellency Captain Edward Singhatay
Vice-President and Minister of Defence of The Gambia
Representing the President of the Republic of The Gambia

Mr. Barry Moussa Barque
Minister of State; Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of the Togolese Republic
Representing the President of the Togolese Republic

Mr. Amara Essy
Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Côte d'Ivoire
Representing the President of the Republic of Côte d'Ivoire

His Excellency Lamine Camara
Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Guinea
Representing the President of the Republic of Guinea

Mr. Massokhna Kane
Minister of African Economic Integration of the Republic of Senegal
Representing the President of the Republic of Senegal

3.The following guests were also present at the session:

His Excellency Professor Wilton Sankawulo
President of the Council of State of the Liberia National Transitional Government

His Excellency Alpha Oumar Konare
President and Head of State of the Republic of Mali

His Excellency Ibrahim Mainassara Bare
President of the Republic of the Niger

His Excellency Alhaji Ahmad Tejan Kabbah
President of the Republic of Sierra Leone

4.The following were invited as observers:

-OAU Eminent Person in Liberia

-Special Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations in Liberia

5.The following persons also attended the meeting in an advisory capacity:

-Major-General Victor S. Malu, ECOWAS Ceasefire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) Field Commander

6.The fourth meeting of Heads of State and Government of the Committee of Nine was preceded by a meeting of Chiefs of Staff of the Armed Forces of ECOWAS member States and a meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Committee of Nine on Liberia.

7.The Heads of State and Government reviewed the situation in Liberia as presented in the report on the thirteenth meeting of Chiefs of Staff of the Armed Forces of ECOWAS member States and the report on the eighth meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Committee of Nine on Liberia. They considered ways to bring the Liberian peace process back on course and focused attention on the following issues:

(a)Assessment of the implementation of the Accra mechanism;

(b)Extension of the Abuja Peace Agreement of August 1995 and review of its schedule of implementation;

(c)Measures to ensure compliance with the peace plan by the Liberian parties;

(d)Performance of the Council of State;

(e)Status of Monrovia;

(f)Elections in Liberia;

(g)Strengthening of ECOMOG;

(h)Restructuring the armed forces, police and other security agents;

(i)Return of arms seized from ECOMOG and property looted from the United Nations and other agencies;

(j)Humanitarian assistance to Liberia.

ASSESSMENT OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ACCRA MECHANISM

The Heads of State and Government noted the non-observance of several important obligations inherent in the mechanism put in place at the seventh meeting of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Committee of Nine with the aim of relaunching the peace process.

EXTENSION OF THE ABUJA AGREEMENT OF 19 AUGUST 1995 AND REVIEW OF ITS IMPLEMENTATION SCHEDULE

The Heads of State and Government reaffirmed that the Abuja Agreement, which was designed to usher in peace and lead to the organization of free and democratic elections on 20 August 1996 remained the most appropriate legal framework for finding a peaceful settlement to the Liberian crisis. They therefore decided that it should be retained in its entirety. However, given that very little progress had been made in its application, it had not been possible to adhere to its implementation schedule.

Consequently, the Heads of State and Government reaffirmed that the Abuja Agreement remained the best and last framework for finding durable peace in Liberia and should thus be retained in its entirety. It was therefore agreed that the validity of the Abuja Agreement should be extended for another nine months, from 21 August 1996 to 15 June 1997, and that the following programme of implementation should be undertaken before the holding of free, fair and democratic elections on or about 31 May 1997.

20-31 August 1996
Ceasefire, disengagement of factions from checkpoints and present combat positions

1 September 1996-30 November 1996
Delivery of logistic supplies by the international/donor community to ECOMOG

20 August 1996-31 January 1997
Verification of ceasefire and disengagement by ECOMOG, United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL) and Liberia National Transitional Government

3-10 October 1996
Assessment meeting in Liberia by Chairman's Special Envoy with ECOMOG, UNOMIL, representatives of donor community and Liberia National Transitional Government

12 October 1996-31 January 1997
Reconnaissance mission by ECOMOG and UNOMIL of arms collection centres

4-8 November 1996
Committee of Nine meeting (Ministerial) at Monrovia

7 November 1996-31 January 1997
Deployment of ECOMOG to agreed safe havens by Committee of Nine

22 November 1996-31 January 1997
Disarmament, demobilization and repatriation

6-13 January 1997
Verification visit to Liberia by Chairman's Special Envoy, with ECOMOG, UNOMIL, representatives of donor community and Liberia National Transitional Government

20 January-15 April 1997
Preparation for elections

10-15 March 1997
Committee of Nine meeting, Monrovia

17-24 April 1997
Assessment visit to Liberia by Chairman's Special Envoy, with ECOMOG, UNOMIL, representatives of donor community and Liberia National Transitional Government

30 May 1997
Election Day

The new schedule of implementation of the Abuja Agreement also provides for the dissolution of all factions by 31 January 1997, resignation by 28 February 1997 of the members of the Council of State and public office holders who wish to run for election. The new Government is expected to be sworn in on 15 June 1997.

The Heads of State and Government adopted a mechanism designed to ensure strict compliance with the peace plan by all Liberian parties.

MEASURES TO ENSURE COMPLIANCE WITH THE PEACE PLAN

The Heads of State and Government deplored the lack of sincerity and commitment shown by the Liberian factions to the peace process. They therefore adopted a decision envisaging measures that might be invoked against any persons found guilty of acts capable of obstructing the peace plan concluded by the signatories to the Abuja Agreement. Such measures that would be invoked against any defaulting party would include:

(a)Restrictions on travel and residence;

(c)Exclusion from participation in the electoral process;

(d)Restrictions on the use of the airspace and territorial waters of member States;

(e)Expulsion of members of the families of the Liberian leaders and their associates from the territories of member States;

(f)Request that the United Nations Security Council impose visa restrictions;

(g)Restrictions on imports from Liberia;

(h)Invoking of the Organization of African Unity 1996 Summit resolution calling for the establishment of a war crimes tribunal to try all human rights offences against Liberians.

The Heads of State and Government reaffirmed the need for member States to observe the arms embargo declared against the warring factions and therefore adopted a decision designed to ensure strict compliance therewith. They urged member States, particularly countries bordering Liberia, to adopt all measures to stop the flow of arms from their territories into that country and noted with appreciation the measures taken by the Republic of Côte d'Ivoire in that connection. They recognized the right of ECOMOG to carry out a search on anyone, including members of the Liberia National Transitional Government and any other government official in the territory of Liberia.

ECOMOG was directed to ensure that only airports under its control were operational. The Heads of State and Government decided to set up a committee to monitor the implementation of the peace plan. This committee may prescribe sanctions to be taken by member States against persons who obstruct the implementation of the peace plan. The Heads of State and Government reaffirmed their resolve not to recognize any Government that comes to power by force of arms.

PERFORMANCE OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE

The Heads of State and Government were concerned about the performance of the Council of State and felt that a change in the leadership of the Council would improve its effectiveness and cohesiveness.

The Heads of State and Government, therefore, agreed to the appointment by the signatories to the Abuja Agreement

Heads of State expressed their appreciation to the departing Chairman, Professor Wilton Sankawulo, for his services, which were rendered under rather difficult circumstances.

They also stressed that, if in future any Council member was found wanting, that member would be replaced.

The Heads of State and Government adopted a code of conduct to be observed by members of the Council of State and other public office holders in implementing the Abuja Agreement which would be used as a yardstick for assessing their performance, individually and collectively.

Status of Monrovia

The Heads of State and Government expressed satisfaction at the measures taken by ECOMOG to restore relative calm to Monrovia. However, they expressed concern at the recent incidents of harassment, abduction and assassination of civilian members of rival factions or other ethnic groups. They strongly condemned the growing tendency to partition the city of Monrovia along factional lines and mandated ECOMOG to intensify its efforts to restore Monrovia and its environs to their original safe haven status.

ELECTIONS IN LIBERIA

The Heads of State and Government noted that, because of the failure of successive peace plans, it had been impossible to organize free, fair and democratic elections. They directed that the process be set in motion for the holding of elections in Liberia on or about 30 May 1997. To this end, they recommended that modalities for the organization of elections be formulated, taking into account the electoral laws of Liberia.

They appealed to the United Nations, donors and non-governmental organizations for support in ensuring that the elections are successfully organized.

STRENGTHENING OF ECOMOG

The Heads of State and Government took note of the fact that successful implementation of the peace plan would require the deployment of 18,000 troops to Liberia. They

The Heads of State and Government expressed gratitude to the Government of the United States of America which has embarked on its second assistance package involving the provision of logistics and communications equipment.

RESTRUCTURING OF THE ARMED FORCES, POLICE AND OTHER SECURITY FORCES

The Heads of State and Government expressed grave concern about the fact that security agencies have deep affiliations with the factions, and condemned the control wielded over the police by fighters and non-qualified personnel.

They endorsed the proposal to restructure the armed forces, the police and other security forces to reflect geographical and ethnic balance. They noted the offer made by the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to sponsor the "train the trainers" programme. ECOWAS should look into the possibility of obtaining the required assistance from countries within the region.

RETURN OF ARMS SEIZED FROM ECOMOG AND PROPERTY LOOTED FROM THE UNITED NATIONS AND OTHER AGENCIES

The Heads of State and Government strongly condemned the seizure of ECOMOG arms and ammunition by fighters belonging to the armed factions. They also condemned the looting of vehicles and other assets from the United Nations and non-governmental organizations. The Heads of State and Government directed Liberian faction leaders to return the arms and ammunition seized from ECOMOG and to release to the United Nations and other organizations the vehicles and other property looted from them. They called on the authorities of countries bordering Liberia to assist in identifying, confiscating and returning such property in their territory to their rightful owners.

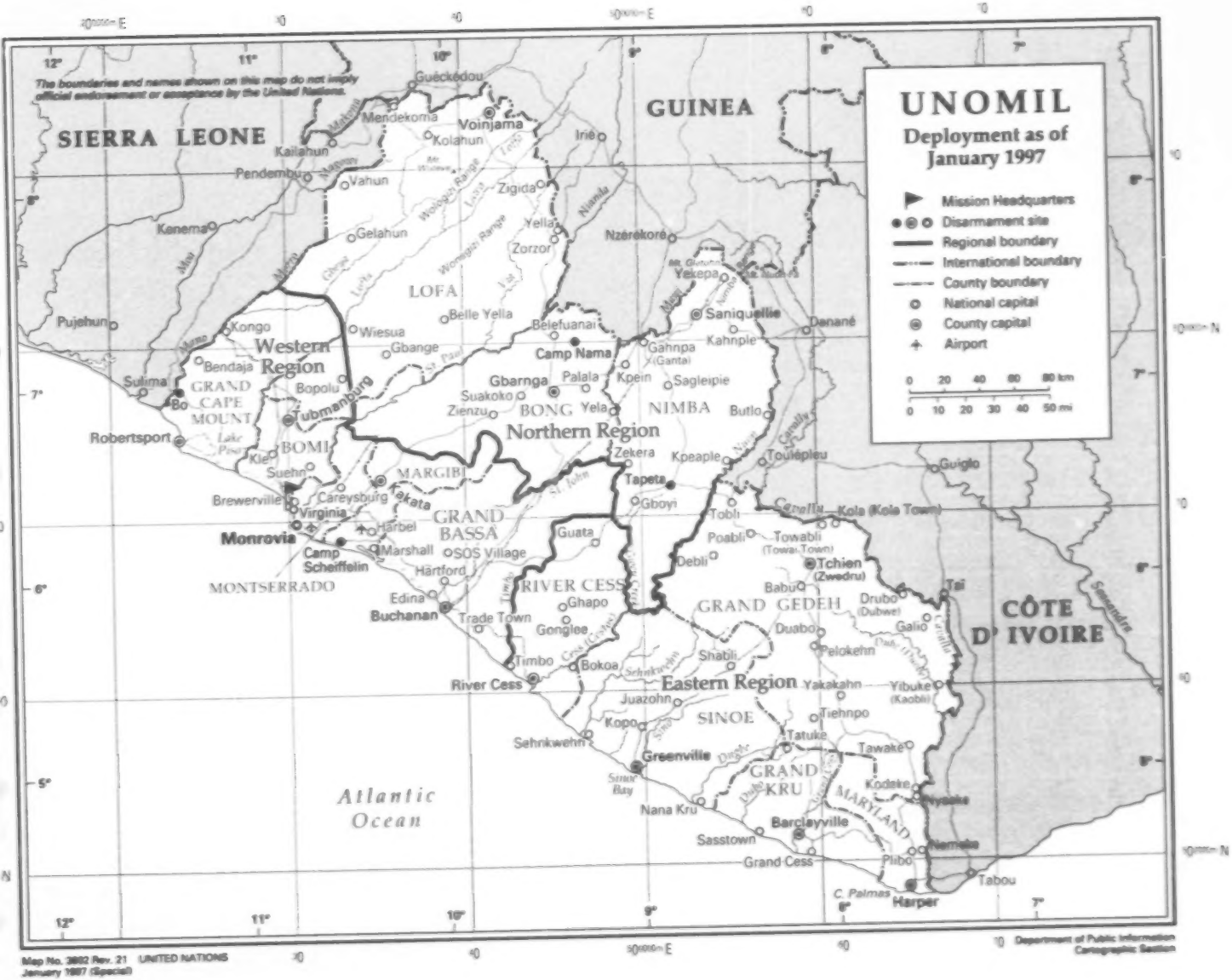
HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO LIBERIA

The Heads of State and Government firmly condemned the crimes, atrocities and other acts committed by the Liberian fighters that violate the rules of armed warfare. They issued a new warning to the factions to desist from

the terms of the Geneva Convention of 12 August 1994 and the annexed Protocols as well as the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. They called on the faction leaders to guarantee the safety of relief personnel in Liberia, to enable them to resume their operations.

The Heads of State and Government expressed gratitude to the Organization of African Unity and to the United Nations for their constant support in the quest for peace in Liberia.

At the end of their deliberations, the Heads of State and Government expressed their sincere gratitude and deep appreciation to His Excellency, General Sani Abacha and to the Government and people of Nigeria for the warm, brotherly hospitality extended to them during their stay in Abuja.


UNOMIL
Deployment as of January 1997
Mission Headquarters
Disarmament site
Regional boundary
International boundary
County boundary
National capital
County capital
Airport
0 20 40 60 80 km
0 10 20 30 40 50 mi
The boundaries and names shown on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations.
SIERRA LEONE
GUINEA
CÔTE D' IVOIRE
Atlantic Ocean
Western Region
Northern Region
Eastern Region
LOFA
NIMBA
BONG
GRAND CAPE MOUNT
BOMI
MARGIBI
GRAND BASSA
MONTSERRADO
RIVER CESS
GRAND GEDEH
SINOE
GRAND KRU
MARYLAND
Monrovia
Buchanan
Greenville
Harper
Robertsport
Voinjama
Zorzor
Camp Nama
Saniquellie
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Grand Cess
River Cess
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Annex

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